The Dissertation Committee for Allison McGuire Alford Certifies that this is the approved version of the following dissertation:

DAUGHTERING AND DAUGHTERHOOD: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF THE ROLE OF ADULT DAUGHTERS IN RELATION TO MOTHERS

Committee:

Madeline Maxwell, Supervisor

Erin Donovan

Martha Menchaca

Anita Vangelisti

DAUGHTERING AND DAUGHTERHOOD: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF THE ROLE OF ADULT DAUGHTERS IN RELATION TO MOTHERS

by

Allison McGuire Alford, B.A.; M. A.

Dissertation

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

The University of Texas at Austin

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Texas at Austin

August 2016

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my mom. We have always had a special connection, from the beginning. We always will. 143.

Acknowledgements

There are many without whom this dissertation would have been impossible. (There are some others without whom it would have been a heck of a lot easier; I will stick to talking about the first group.) Although I cannot possibly identify every person whose encouragement impacted me, I will say that I have deeply appreciated every smile, coffee gift card, positive word, and Facebook post that kept me going.

To begin, I would like to thank my advisor, Madeline Maxwell. You have not only guided this project, but been the biggest influence on my doctoral program over the past several years. Your thoughtful teaching and mentorship has improved my writing, but also my leadership style, approach to conflict management, and outlook on the field of academia. Thank you for the many opportunities and for investing in me. I would also like to express appreciation for members of my committee: Erin Donovan, Martha Menchaca, and Anita Vangelisti. I am grateful for your work and everything you have taught me about conducting excellent research and engaging in thoughtful conversations.

I am grateful for the tremendous support of my colleagues and friends, including the incomparable Ryessia Jones, as well as Robert Carroll, Matt Ingram, Rita Jhang, Emily Richardson, Heba Zeid, and cheerleader Jane Damron. You have all inspired and bolstered me throughout this journey. I would like to thank all of my lovely lifelong friends who have been available to chat, have checked on me, and perhaps even participated in my research. A big thank you to my coach, Susan Corbin, who bolstered my drive to complete this work and lifted my spirits when times got tough. I am also grateful to all of the women who participated in interviews for this study, who agreed to chat with me about personal topics and decided to go deep, letting me understand their lives.

Also, I could gush about the support I have received from my loved ones; it has been like a tidal wave of love and support, over these many years. First, for my sister, Janiece: You have listened, been a devil's advocate, and provided insights. You told me at the beginning of this journey to allow myself to be open to transformation and I tucked that idea in my heart and arrived on the other side of graduate school with just such an outcome. Sometimes you see me better than I see myself. We are a team and you're invaluable to me. To my 'other' sister and best friend, Tiffany, there is a deep contentment in knowing you have a person who will show up for you when you call. You are that friend. You always show up. Thank you for showing up for me over and over again in the past (and, I'm banking on, the future!). Next, I thank all of my parents. Mom and Dad, Charles and Pamela McGuire, you really convinced me early on that I was incredibly special and it has taken me well into adulthood to realize how much you oversold that idea. You are the sun, and the light you radiate is the reason I can shine so brightly. To Kathy and Jim, your support of my endeavors, your enthusiasm for my accomplishments and the unconditional love you have given my little family shows what amazing people you are. I (we) cannot thank you enough for all you have done.

And finally, a thank you for my rock, my husband, Joe. I cannot express in words how grateful I am for your partnership, your love, your support, your encouragement, your humor, and your stability. You ground me. You are the reason I haven't yet floated off into the atmosphere, too focused on a singular event or emotion. We can all agree that I'm the oddball in our family (the kids delight in saying so!). But what's amazing is that you love that about me. You love me as I am and with all of my parts. You know everything annoys me, but you let it roll off your back, and laugh about it with our beautiful children. Thank you for holding my hand and for raising these two amazing kids, Eli and Lyla Grace, with me. To my exquisite children: this work was done for you, not despite you. I am

grateful for your support and encouragement of my work. This research is the reason why mommy sometimes seemed glued to the laptop. My wish for you is to achieve your dreams, whatever they may be. I will be here to provide encouragement and to assure you that you are the most uncommonly amazing people I have ever met.

DAUGHTERING AND DAUGHTERHOOD: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF THE ROLE OF ADULT DAUGHTERS IN RELATION TO MOTHERS

Allison McGuire Alford, PhD

The University of Texas at Austin, 2016

Supervisor: Madeline Maxwell

This study investigated the role of an adult daughter in mid-life, a time in a woman's life when she has a personal relationship with her mother based upon shared interests more than dependence for care. Using interactional role theory (Turner, 2001), this study explored the understanding a daughter has for her role as an adult daughter in everyday encounters with her mother. Participants in this study described that when in situations that call for daughtering, they enact the adult daughter role. For this study, adult daughter participants (N = 33) ranging in age from 25-45 years old participated in face-to-face interviews to discuss their role as an adult daughter to their mothers. All participants had a living, healthy mother age 70 or younger.

From daughters' discussions of everyday communication with their mothers, layers of meaning were uncovered which related to the adult daughter role. Using role theory as a guide, thematic analysis revealed six themes of meaning. These findings contribute to an understanding of the social construction of an important role, which daughters learn over a lifetime and which they use to communicate within a family. Discussions of daughtering were challenging to participants due to borrowed vocabulary for describing this role, narrow role awareness, and a low valuation of the work of daughtering. When sorting role

influences, daughters noted their mothers and a variety of other sources that inform role expectations. This finding prompted a new manner for evaluating daughters as a daughterhood, or community of role players collectively enacting the same role. Finally, participant responses revealed new ways to conceive of the social construction of the adult daughter role and the practice of daughtering and daughterhood, with outcomes including a variety of comportments for performing daughtering. Implications for future research by communication scholars, as well as for practitioners who work with adult daughter-mother pairs, will be presented with other results from this study.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

Chapter 1: Rationale and Theoretical Perspectives

OVERVIEW

Over a lifetime, the relationship between a mother and daughter develops and matures based on a shared history and connection (Fingerman & Bermann, 2000; Miller-Day, 2004). As mothers and daughters age, their relationship matures; the daughters' role transitions from a young child into a more peer-like relationship during mid-life. When mothers and daughters are both adults, concurrently facing similar life experiences, the role of daughter shifts to one of independence—but not disconnectedness—from her mother (Aquilino, 1997).

Daughters who are in continuous relationships with their mothers learn that they have a role toward their mother that goes beyond the obedience and learning required in childhood. Though mother and daughter may be biologically related, role learning evolves through social interaction over an entire lifetime through routine, daily events. Though daughters experience many turning points (Fischer, 1981, 1986) in the relationships with their mothers, it is in the predominately everyday interactions where their roles are created and redefined. Adult daughters activate this role in situations that call for daughtering. A *role* is defined as a communicative behavior "created through an individual's reaction with others, thereby structuring their reality and providing meaning to their lives" (Stamp, 1994, p. 91). More specifically, family roles are "recurring patterns of behavior developed through the interaction that family members use to fulfill family functions" (Galvin, Braithwaite, & Bylund, 2004, p. 169). According to Goffman (1959), when someone takes on a role, as in a play or performance, she uses a script to portray the role. Furthermore, when an actor takes on a social role, usually she finds that a performative front has been established for performing the role (Goffman, 1959). For an adult daughter, the role she

performs has been learned over her lifespan and is used to establish ways of performing this role during encounters with her mother, which can also be called *daughtering* (van Mens-Verhulst, Schreurs, & Woertman, 1993; van Mens-Verhulst, 1995).

As a communication scholar, my concept of the adult daughter grows from a belief that relationships are socially constructed from a lifetime of experiences. I believe the adult daughter role is practiced by women who daughter their mothers, and there is more to this role than is presently understood in the available literature. *Daughtering* can be understood as any of the complex and varied behaviors enacted by a daughter in relation to her mother, gleaned from a lifetime of observation of the social world around her. Meaning is ascribed to symbols, which in turn guide our communication in relationships with others (Meade, 1956; Blumer 1969). These meanings are derived from recurring social interactions over a lifetime and negotiated through an interactive process with our relational partners (Blumer, 1969), creating roles. Based on these interactional-based accounts of meaning-making, I propose that we can learn more about the role of an adult daughter and how women construct this important role.

One social constructivist approach that informs this analysis comes from Pete Berger and Thomas Luckmann's (1966) "The Sociology of Knowledge," which provides a basis for understanding the manner in which reality is constructed through social interaction. They say we all must be conscious of the fact that we all have multiple realities (p. 35), i.e. a smile for one daughter may signal encouragement, whereas for another it appears to signal an aggressive baring of teeth before a verbal attack. The reality of life is intersubjective, therefore shared with others. Our realities and common-sense thoughts are occurring simultaneously and co-exist as fact, overlapping the experience of the other. However, we cannot know the multiple realities of another, therefore we use, as a basis for interaction, typification schemes. "The reality of everyday life contains typificatory

schemes in terms of which others are apprehended and 'dealt with' in face-to-face encounters" (Berger & Luckmann, 1966, p. 45). These typifications are standard schemes of meaning created through our own life experiences and applied in interactions with others. What's more, these schemes become shared pieces of knowledge that other role actors begin to use in their interactions, sharing knowledge within a community of role actors. Furthermore, Berger & Luckmann posited that social structure is the sum total of these typifications and patterns of interaction that have been established through these typificatory schemes. Thus, the greater social structure is an essential part of everyday life and is found in even the most banal of communication behaviors. Through repeated interactions, adult daughters internalize the interactions with their mother actions as a typification scheme and may eventually constitute elements of that role.

This dissertation explores the social construction of the role of an adult daughter in an everyday, normative context. I used interactional role theory (Turner, 2001) to explore adult daughters' descriptions of the role of an adult daughter in relation to her mother. The role lens, also called a functional lens, approach "highlights communication for being the connecting tissue that binds people into family" (Turner & West, 2015, p. 14). Daughters' stories of everyday daughtering behaviors revealed a depth to the adult daughter role which was previously murky in our understandings of this important family role. Exploring family roles—the ways in which people "feel and act like family"—is an effective way to learn more about social behaviors and emotions in family relationships (Floyd, Mikkelson, & Judd, 2006, p. 27). Daughters' discussions of the ways in which they behave using the adult daughter role, do the work of daughtering, and evaluate their role in a social world provided a rich area for inquiry.

Social roles exist in pairs or sets, like mother-daughter and more, and are thus linked through distinctive role relationships (Turner, 2001). These roles are created and

modeled through interaction and use of typificatory schemes (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). For the adult daughter, one such typificatory scheme, or role, is that of the daughter to her mother. Mother and daughter each play a role, but they also examine their partner's role performance to further inform their own role. As an example of typification, over time, a daughter may notice that as an adult she does not kiss her mother on the lips as often as she used to, then as this information is internalized, it is reified in future interactions where she does not attempt to kiss her mother on the lips anymore.

The actions of other role counterparts, those with whom one shares a role partnership (i.e. Husband/Wife) or role peers (those performing the same role, like other wives or adult daughters, whom one looks toward for role learning), also inform one's role. For example, a daughter may learn about her role by observing her friends with their mothers, or a daughter thinks back to what she observed her mother do with her grandmother. Everyday actions and interactions set up expectations and predictions for behavior of one's role partner, and, reciprocally, our interactants use their typificatory schemes with us (Berger & Luckmann, 1966, p. 45). Daughters grow up learning to predict others' actions based on observable patterns. They create their own roles by "taking the role of the other" and imagining what their role partner may be portraying and interacting with this assumption in mind, which is a cooperative endeavor (Meade, 1956; Turner, 2001).

> This interrelationship goes beyond simply acting in response to the other's actions or expected actions, because roles are patterned clusters of actions. Taking the role of the other involves understanding a cluster of actions into which any given action fits and which supplies a basis for assigning meaning to the action in question (Turner, 2001, p. 235).

Daughters participate in this complex choreography when interacting with their mothers, thus remaking their own roles. This creation and modification of the one's role and others'

roles is a key orienting process in social interaction (Turner, 2001). Role learning occurs over a lifetime as one discovers what works in dealing with role partners (Turner, 2001). Children, as they grow, shed roles and acquire new ones (Allen & van de Vliert, 1984), though the transition may be unnoticeable as it occurs. An adult daughter in mid-life, thus, enacts a different role than the one of her childhood or, later, as an older daughter with an aging mother. This study explores the sense a daughter has for her role as an adult daughter in everyday encounters with her mother. For this reason, this study solicited daughters' descriptions of everyday events and participants' perspectives on their daughtering role behaviors.

Scholars have shown that families socially construct, develop and sustain their own culture, via everyday life experiences (Fingerman & Bermann, 2000). Considering this family culture as constructed by typification schemes (Berger and Luckmann, 1966), we know that a family's cultural system is influenced by sources inside and outside of the family system that have guided each member's typification schemes over a lifetime. Typification schemes are the building blocks of a larger social structure, comprised of many communication behaviors, some banal and commonplace, while others are purposeful and specific. One way to learn more about this larger social structure and expectations for daughtering is to begin with an understanding of the commonplace, everyday talk about this role (Goldsmith & Baxter, 1996).

This study addresses the recent call from scholars for more studies that explore how interactants experience relationships as they develop (Miller-Day, Fisher, & Stube, 2013). Current literature does not provide answers for how daughters learn the expectations for this role and the sources from which they glean this information. Therefore, if we want to understand some of the complex social relations between daughters and mothers, we need to learn more about how family roles are enacted in everyday life and how role players

conceive of the expectations for their roles. Descriptions of the adult daughter role in the current literature are either lacking, or simply missing. Some researchers have used a role lens for examining the parent-child relationship in various life stages (Transition to adulthood examples: Featherman & Sorensen, 1984; Caregiver examples: Cecchin, 2001; Li & Seltzer, 2005), but this literature is focused either on role transitions during major life changes or on times of conflict and crisis for families. In this study, I placed the attention on the participants' descriptions of role experiences and highlighted the sources of participants' role-knowledge. It is clear that a maturing mother-daughter relationship is complex, yet, for the adult daughter, this role remains an important part of a woman's lifetime.

This study adds to theory by enhancing our understanding of the daughter's meaning-making about her role in the everyday moments of adulthood, and the ways in which various sources contribute to socially constructing a daughter's conception of the role she plays in a relationship with her mother. Additionally, an investigation of the sources which influence daughtering—the people or messages who contribute to a daughter's changing role conception—and the social construction of this role, uncovers a community of daughters participating in a daughterhood.

NATURE AND PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This exploratory study investigated how adult daughters give voice to the social role of an adult daughter and describe the expectations for behaviors associated with this role. Findings from this study suggest that one enhances her understanding of the adult daughter role in a family and within a community. Roles function to smooth relational interactions and exist because they are created by individuals who use them. The data presented here allow scholars to better understand the ways daughters talk about their role

as an adult daughter. As Shrier, Tompsett, and Shrier (2004) suggested and this study confirms, the adult daughter contributes more than is currently recognized in most mother-daughter literature; a daughter does not only function to receive mothering, but actively daughters her mother in an interdependent relationship. The focus of this study turns the attention away from the mother's perspective, which is how many scholars study this role pair, onto the adult daughter and explores the hidden depths to her role and socialization therein. Furthermore, from daughters' discussions of everyday communication with their mothers, we can glean an understanding of the social construction of a role, which a daughter learns though social interaction over a lifetime.

For this study, I interviewed 33 adult daughter participants ranging in age from 25-45 years old in face-to-face interviews to discuss their role as an adult daughter to their mothers. During the interviews, participants were encouraged to give narrative examples of interactions with their mothers. These stories of everyday events served to illustrate the commonplace nature of daughtering, because I did not focus only on specific life events, as much of the literature on daughters has done. The data were analyzed with a thematic approach. Thematic analysis helps adequately manage complex and detailed data sets—sought for saturation purposes—but still allows for a close study of the language of participants. Selection of themes was an iterative process in this exploratory study. Following an example such as the study of college-aged daughters by Harrigan and Miller-Ott (2013), data analysis began by familiarizing myself with the verbatim transcripts of the interviews. I examined the data through the lens of interactional role theory (Turner, 2001), described further below. I looked for role descriptors, stories of everyday role behaviors, and instances of clarifying daughtering expectations, and epiphanies about the adult daughter role. Stories gathered from participants were analyzed thematically, but also

within the context of the culture of mothering and daughtering. Chapter 3 provides further explanation and clarification of the study's methodology.

The data presented in Chapters 4-6 represent a story of uncovering the adult daughter role. While I do not claim to have discovered the adult daughter role, I believe these chapters show that daughtering is learned through practice and social interaction within a community, manifesting in a variety of daughtering performances.

Through inductive methods I carefully reviewed the audio recordings and created themes based on participant responses. In this dataset, several themes emerged, presented in chapters 4-6. In Chapter 4, I examine themes of language as it relates to daughtering and the valuing of the adult daughter role. In Chapter 5, I describe how daughters gather knowledge from to inform their roles and explore how daughters evaluate their role performance against other daughters. Finally, in Chapter 6, I describe the social construction of the adult daughter role, exploring the ways in which this role is practiced, over time, in a community. Furthermore, I provide a matrix for understanding the many ways daughtering is enacted. After completing theme creation, any contradictions within themes were noted and re-evaluated with a master list of themes from the data analysis. Lastly, exemplars from the data set were identified that showcase the link between identified themes and verbatim transcripts of adult daughter participants. Completing this rigorous analysis resulted in trustworthy materials used to answer the exploratory research objectives.

In the interviews I asked participants to give narrative examples in order to discover patterns of reported behaviors and perceptions among adult daughters. My approach to understanding these narratives was to consider them within the context of daughtering and the community of daughters who portray these roles. Walters (1992) described the mother/daughter relationship as socially constructed, not only through social policies and

theories, but also through cultural images. Walters said, "The relationship of mother and daughter is located in culture in the most fundamental sense, where issues of gender, genre, and generation intersect and interact" (p. 4). Culture is, according to Wolcott (2008), represented and revealed through discerning patterns of socially shared behaviors. Doing daughtering is active and relational work that is situated in a social reality with one's mother that is unlike any other, including those women share with fathers, husbands, sisters, sons, or friends (Hampton, 1997; Nelson, 2006).

The resultant descriptions can be used by researchers in various disciplines to continue qualitative and quantitative analyses of the mother-daughter relationship with a deeper understanding of the daughter's role within the dyad in mid-life, influenced by a mothers' and society's expectations for daughtering.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

As defined by Berger and Luckmann (1966), roles are created through interaction over time which structures one's reality and provides meaning for life experiences. An interactional role theory framework was used to guide this study. The interactional role theory is most appropriate for a study of communication created by adult daughters because this theoretical viewpoint assumes roles begin from the patterning of clusters of behaviors and attitudes that are thought to belong together and are created during interactions with individuals and groups over time (Turner, 2001). Individuals are understood to be performing their roles adequately when exhibiting the behaviors consistent with expectations for a given social situation and role complement (i.e. A daughter is daughtering correctly when acting like a daughter to her mother).

Giving voice to these experiences by telling one's account of past life events and perceptions is one way that adult daughters construct their understanding of a role that

continues to change and grow. In speaking to me about roles, and "In attempting from time to time to make aspects of the roles explicit the actor is creating and modifying roles as well as merely bringing them to light; the process is not only role-taking and role-playing, but role-making" (Turner, 2001, p. 234). In sum, participants create the daughter role through communication with others, but also modify it, presumably, as they discussed it in interviews for this study. Family communication, according to Galvin (2006), is discourse-dependent, meaning family members depend upon communication with outsiders as well as with other family members to define the meaning of family. This study provided an opportunity for adult daughters to reflect on their role and the effort it takes to do it. A family's talk—naming, justifying, and defending their roles—is the stuff of creating and defining what and who a family is in a social system (Galvin, 2006). This study explored the adult daughter role in relation to her mother and investigated the layers of meaning daughters associate with this role.

In addition to a role lens, this study explored the commonplace nature of the role of daughters. Following Goldsmith's (2001) example, this approach to studying the role of daughters in adulthood shifts the focus from measuring behaviors to evaluating daughters' descriptions of everyday communication, with her mother and others. The responses from adult daughter was not evaluated mechanistically, based on only the instance of a role-playing behavior described by the participant, but instead "through participants' interpretations of acts and their implications" (Goldsmith & Fitch, 1997, p. 455). Giving adult daughters a venue for describing their roles and the normative aspects of their relationships with their mothers allowed for the complex nature of multiple and conflicting aspects of roles to emerge (Goldsmith, 2001).

This study, which is the continuation of research started several years ago to explore how adult daughters make sense of their roles and interactions with their mothers, began with these broadly stated research objectives to explore:

- If adult daughters have a sense of role in relation to their mothers and, if so, what they say about the role.
- What daughters say about their everyday role with their mothers and what behaviors constitute daughtering.
- Any expectations adult daughters have for their role as an adult daughter.
- How a daughter's conceptions of daughtering and daughterhood relate to how society says a daughter should behave or communicate with her mother.
- Some of the various ways daughters can differ from one another within the adult daughter role.

Foremost, the aim of this study was to gather daughters' stories about their maturing role as adult daughters to their mothers and uncover deep and rich knowledge about this role. Relationships are built upon commonplace occurrences and roles are sustained in the everyday events of adult life (Duck & McMahan, 2015; Fingerman & Bermann, 2000).

NEED FOR THE STUDY

With an estimated 52 million adult females in the U.S. between the ages of 25-49[1] (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Administration for Community Living [ACL], 2010) there is considerable application for the data from this study. The ties between mother and daughter are lifelong and have shown to provide considerable support, bolstering well-being (Umberson & Slaten, 2000). As the population ages, they are even more dependent on intergenerational ties for well-being and support (Fingerman, Sechrist,

[1] Data are categorized in 5 year spans, with the bracket 45-49 included to encompass ages of all participants in this study.

& Birditt, 2013). Many women in this study were also, or soon will be, part of the Sandwich Generation, or those who have both a parent 65+ for whom they provide some form of care and also have a child (Pew Research Center, 2013). Others from this study were part of the Boomerang Generation, those aged 18-34 who have moved back in with their parent, often for financial reasons (Parker, 2012). Some participants were both Sandwich and Boomerang Generation. The women in this study were in mid-life, managing financial concerns, some are raising children, all are thinking about their relationships with their mothers. These women can benefit from support services aimed at adults in mid-life managing many needs. Because all women are daughters, and such a large population are adults, and this relationship is important for these dyads, scholars can benefit from a deeper understanding of how daughters make-meaning about this relationship.

SUMMARY

Analyzing the everyday experience of daughtering exposes the dense and multi-layered meanings of the commonplace occurrences, which contributes to the overall understanding of how families communicate. This exploratory study uses interactional role theory as a basis for inquiry into the dynamic lives of women in mid-life and their evolving relationships with their mothers. Though exploratory in nature, a researcher must begin with a theoretically-informed framework based on previous research and knowledge. Berger and Luckmann's (1966) descriptions of knowledge creation and typification schemes guided a deeper understanding of the metacommunicative processes at work for daughters in relation to their mothers and considering role learning. For this reason, this study also evaluated what daughters' descriptions of roles revealed about their understanding of expectations for role behaviors.

This goal was achieved by analyzing participant responses for new discoveries as well as associations between well-established theoretical assumptions. By gathering stories of daughtering events, we can better understand how these experiences constitute meaning for adult daughters and inform the adult daughter role. Furthermore, the knowledge gained from this exploratory study can be used to improve and maintain mother-daughter relationships for many. The following chapter presents a review of literature on the adult daughter and mother-daughter relationships. Following this, Chapter 3 describes the study's methodology. Chapter 4 explores the language daughters use to describe their role and daughtering behaviors, and describes *daughtering*. Themes in Chapter 5 describe the sources that study participants noted they glean knowledge from as related to their role and describes a *daughterhood*. In Chapter 6, I explore what we can learn from the participant's talk about roles concerning the social construction of the role of an adult daughter. Additionally, I present one final theme of meaning from the data which shows how daughters behave in a variety of ways and I propose a matrix for understanding varying behaviors within the same adult daughter role. Finally, in Chapter 7, I summarize the results of this study and propose future directions for research.

Chapter 2: Review of Literature and Theoretical Perspectives

This chapter examines literature that provides a foundation for understanding how the role of an adult daughter changes over a lifetime. Thus, I first explore the mother-daughter relationship in various life stages and contexts. Then I describe the literature on everyday communicative contexts and the relationship between roles and culture. Finally, I describe the use of role theory for this study.

OVERVIEW

Mothers and daughters communicate and interact in ways that are unlike other family dyads (Fischer, 1986; Russell & Saebel, 1997; Shrier, Tompsett, & Shrier, 2004). Indeed, Bojczyk, et al. (2011) said that out of all family relationships, the one between mother and daughter is most likely to remain important for both parties, even when major life changes occur. Research has shown that, for the most part, mothers and daughters will continue to stay connected, close, and interdependent over the trajectory of a lifespan (Fingerman, 1996). Therefore, Fingerman and Bermann (2000) have called for research across the lifespan, asking researchers to consider how "the family as a system continues to influence adults' day-to-day lives even in the absence of celebration or crises" (p. 6).

Because this study emphasizes the role of an adult daughter in relation to her mother, I first review the literature that explored this relationship. The study of mother-daughter relationships spans many disciplines. Therefore, the following review will begin with a look at the multi-disciplinary approach to the study of mother-daughter research. Next, there is a review of the literature in the communication studies field with a lifespan lens. Then, the cultural role of daughtering is discussed and this literature review ends with a discussion of role theory used for this study.

MULTIPLE LINES OF RESEARCH ON THE MOTHER-DAUGHTER RELATIONSHIP

The mother-daughter relationship has been evaluated with a variety of lenses, including family systems, well-being, developmental, and feminist approaches. These approaches highlight the ways in which mother-daughter relationships have been studied in the past, which inform the direction of the current study.

Family Systems

Some scholars have taken a family-systems approach to studying mothers and daughters; this line of inquiry considers the family as a unit. A family-systems approach also views families as units striving to maintain continuity over time. This theory is focused on interaction at the family level and not on the singular individual.

> In families raising children, family systems theorists consider how mothers, fathers, and all children interact together to shape the behaviors of individual members and how individual members contribute to family life on the whole (Fingerman & Bermann, 2000, p.9).

The application of family systems theory to adults, though not as common in the research, is still particularly relevant. Fingerman and Bermann (2000) say that family life in adulthood should be characterized as systemic holdovers from the family in childhood and not primarily considered as characteristics of the individual.

In a review of scholarship on family systems theory and its application to the study of adult development, Fingerman and Bermann (2000) compared existing scholarship and presented case study examples of relevant topics. They say feelings of continuity are marked by behaviors learned from the larger family system that may be perpetuated across generations as family members play the same part in the larger family dynamic. “When adults return to their extended families of origin, in some cases deeply buried insecurities suddenly surface, and in others cases feelings of security are enhanced” (Fingerman & Bermann, 2000, p. 17). Additionally, Fingerman and Bermann (2000) urge family

researchers to consider adult behavior as influenced by a continuous and routinized family system from infancy, rather than as characteristic of one individual. "For the most part, family researchers treat family life as either discontinuous when individuals reach adulthood or, when continuity is evident, as though this continuity reflected characteristics of the individual rather than systemic holdovers in the family itself" (p. 7). Importantly, they also note that structural functionalist approaches to the study of families may be able to demonstrate that adult daughters provide more care for parents in later years, for example, but they stop short of investigating how daughters feel about doing so (Fingerman & Bermann, 2000, p. 10). However, using elements of family systems theory, researchers can identify "a sense of how family members come to share beliefs about themselves and the world around them" (Fingerman & Bermann, 2000, p. 10).

Not only does a family systems theory approach consider the larger family system, but a mother-daughter pair can be considered a system themselves. As Bojczyk et al. (2011) showed, "each mother–daughter dyad is a dynamic, mutually influencing, interactional system in which each individual's creation of a relationship narrative is invariably shared" (p. 455). A study conducted by Charles, Frank, Jacobson, and Grossman (2001) investigated how mother-daughter dyads are influenced by the mothers' past relationships. These scholars conducted structured interviews with 72 mother-daughter pairs using a psychoanalytic format. Each mother and daughter participant also completed three measures of well-being. Findings suggested that mothers' remembrances of separation and individuation from their mothers impacted the way their daughters experienced and gained autonomy as a young adult. They argued that a mother's experiences with her own mother impacted those with her daughter, upholding the importance of considering intergenerational transmission processes (Charles, Frank, Jacobson, & Grossman, 2001, p.

724). It may be understood from this study that daughters are learning how to be a daughter over a lifetime by watching the patterns and routines of their mothers.

Not only do mothers' earlier life experiences impact later mother-daughter dyadic relationships, but also, according to Bergman and Fahey (1996), do the mother's original conceptions of their daughters in early childhood. These scholars conducted two case studies, with Helen and Karen, over a 35 year period. First, Bergman and Fahey began with observational data collected while the children played on the playground, but continued 29 years later with structured interviews and psychological testing. Participants Helen and Karen described their perceptions of self and other as rooted in their mothers' original concept of their daughters. "These early interactions provided the ground upon which each daughter built her sense of herself in relation to others, as new experiences based upon expanded capacities to perceive the world outside, broadened the world built on the first relationship" (Bergman & Fahey, 1996, p. 481). According to Bergman and Fahey, everything a daughter does for the rest of her life can be understood as originally influenced by her mother's experiences of her own mother. This cycle suggests that as daughters age, they routinely gather role information from their mothers, which they may later transmit to their daughters. As a woman's primary position within a family system changes from child to grandparent over a lifetime, her role must also change, but scholars have yet to ascertain how daughters conceive of their role in adulthood.

Scholars have shown how relationships are influenced by past events and transmit these ideas to future generations, thus showing how adult children communicate within a family system. Adult daughters learn "how they are to act, and about the roles of individual members" (Fingerman & Bermann, 2000) through repeated social interactions. What is still unclear from studies like these is how daughters define their roles and know specifically how to behave in a role. While the investigation of the adult daughter role is

the primary focus of this study, I borrow elements of family systems theory approaches by questioning how participants feel about the role. Although the proposed study will gather data about perceived changes over time, the focus will not be on transitions, but on the idea that individuals' beliefs and behaviors are sustained in the day-to-day of adult life (Duck & McMahan, 2015, p. xxii; Fingerman & Bermann, 2000, p. 7).

Well-Being

The mother-daughter relationship has also been studied with a focus on well-being. Approaches that incorporate well-being and health are focused on predictive outcomes and interventions that can increase the quality of relationships and quality of life. As Segrin (2006) says, "Because human beings are inherently social animals, their sense of well-being is inextricably entwined with the nature and quality of their personal relationships" (p. 9). One way to study well-being is to examine how family communication affects, and is affected by, people's physical and mental health (Segrin, 2006, p. 15). Fingerman, Sechrist, and Birditt (2013), in a review of the current literature on intergenerational ties and support, describe how relationships between adult children and their parents contribute to both parties' well-being. Many studies of well-being in an adult child- parent dyad take the perspective of support flowing downward from parent to child, with a generally positive effect on the well-being of the adult child (Fingerman et al., 2012; Fingerman et al., 2008; Umberson, 1992).

Horstman and colleagues (2015) conducted an experimental longitudinal study using the expressive writing paradigm—a writing format used to evaluate narrative sensemaking over time. For this study, the authors focused on the adult daughter's perspective in the mother-daughter relationship and her well-being. Through this study, the researchers found that daughters' storytelling—about times of difficulty—changes over

time as she reconceptualizes the events, thus contributing to her overall well-being. Studies like this begin to extend theories of appraisal and narrative sense-making into the area of mother-daughter communication and well-being, with a focus on the adult daughter. However, there is still a gap in the literature as the daughter remains conceptualized only as a recipient of support, or *mothering*, instead of a creator of support; as such, it is still unclear how such generous daughtering behaviors may impact an adult daughter's well-being. Horstman's (2015) study shows the usefulness of narratives, as it is clear that storytelling aids a daughter's sensemaking and can reveal rich meaning about her relationship with her mother.

Developmental

Others have taken a developmental approach to the study of mothers and daughters. The developmental approach posits that the mother-daughter relationship develops through a series of universal stages and a new stage can be reached only after exiting a previous stage (Hayslip, Neumman, Louden, & Chapman, 2006). Developmental outcomes are also loosely tied to age and developmental stages continue to emerge over a lifespan. As one ages, her perspective of time shifts, which then prompts her to reorganize her goal structure toward short-term perspectives. In a 35-year longitudinal study, Bergman and Fahey (1996) produced a report of two mother-daughter pairs' meaning-making about their relational partner and how this meaning impacted separation-individuation and subsequent life events for both women. They found that the earliest life experiences impacted the development of a mother-daughter bond which in turn impacted meaning-making about future life events. This research would lead us to appreciate that daughters become acquainted with the role of daughter over time, through practice, as they behave in ways appropriate to each developmental stage.

The developmental perspective has also been applied to understanding normative life experiences between mothers and daughters. Bernstein (2004) says that normal developmental steps among mothers and daughters is "not so much toward the kind of separation from mother that Freud was expecting to see as it is toward autonomy with connectedness" (p. 608). The developmental perspective, Bernstein (2004) says, can be used to evaluate how "the individual, from birth forward, actively constructs her representational world of self and others, in interaction at first with her primary caregivers and before long with her broadening world, in an open-ended process that continues throughout the life cycle" (p. 605). Bernstein goes on to say that mothers and daughters are bound in a system of events that change the development of the individual and, in turn, the relationship.

A linear depiction of development, however, can be limiting. Instead, each stage of development, according to Bernstein is part of an ongoing structural reorganization, learning, and transformation: "With each developmental step, the woman turns back, in thought or in actuality, to her mother. This is true with marriage, pregnancy, childbirth, menopause, aging, and death" (Bernstein, 2004, p. 617). Bernstein concludes that "issues with mother must be revisited again and again, at each point in their interconnected life cycles, because it is in this nonlinear manner that development goes forward" (p. 623). The developmental perspective highlights stages of life and age benchmarks that women achieve over a lifetime. Although I undertook an everyday approach to communication in the relationship between adult daughters and mothers, as Bernstein suggests here, a developmental perspective was not assumed. Daughters of various ages or life stages were not compared against one another to distinguish differences; instead the stories provided by participants were evaluated for unique ideas, overlapping themes, and new insights into a role perspective during a large time-period of women's lives that has not been thoroughly

explored. Criteria for inclusion in the participant pool, discussed further in the following chapter, does not exclude based on life experiences related to developmental stages.

Feminist

Finally, scholars have long used a feminist viewpoint to examine the mother-daughter relationship and the impact of gender roles. This approach frames the ways in which women have been semantically derogated (Schulz, 1975) including the many ways women are simply missing from scholarly discussions or negatively portrayed. To combat this problem, some feminist scholars have described the ways in which the mother-daughter relationship may be positively framed as one of growth and change, not wholly conflictual. Chodorow (1974, 1978) argued that daughters tend to maintain initial portions of their primary relationship with their mothers and continue throughout their lifetime to engage in personal identification based on the relationship with them. However, Chodorow says this not simply learning female characteristics from another female, but actually acting specifically like her mother. "Identification with her mother is not positional—the narrow learning of particular role behaviors—but rather a personal identification with her mother's general traits of character and values" (Chodorow, 1974, p. 51).

The mother/daughter relationship is frequently described by an evaluation of the closeness between dyadic partners, but closeness is not a universal characteristic of all dyads. According to O'Connor (1990), not only is a universally close mother/daughter relationship characterization untrue, but it equates mothering with an idealized feminine identity and conflates closeness and tending aspects of a relationship. O'Connor analyzed interviews with 60 adult women and asked them to report on someone to whom they were *very close*. Less than one third of respondents indicated they were *very close* to their mothers, and only two fifths of these reported high caretaking activities. However, a

majority of daughters reported their relationship as identity enhancing, which O'Connor used to show that daughters may find value in their relationships with their mothers that is separate from their tending responsibilities. Thus, tying tending activities to explanations of the mother/daughter relationship may legitimate traditional notions of women as caretakers and unequal division of labor within family systems. Like O'Connor, I suggest that the work of daughtering requires effort and must be characterized differently than common verbiage for caretaking. In line with O'Connor's perspective, I explore the many variations of daughtering which do not conform to classic ideas of positive mother/daughter relationships.

For young women, learning their role begins with doing as their mother does. However, rather than viewing mothers and daughters as having a struggle to separate from one another, it is reasonable to view "daughters as they mature as not so much struggling to free themselves from the maternal bonds that constrict them, but rather moving toward a self-determined, powerful, autonomous position of their own" (Walters, Carter, Papp, & Silverstein, 1988, p. 49). This viewpoint frames daughters as active participants in the mother-daughter dyad, compelling a more nuanced understanding of the role of daughters in adulthood. Despite literature such as this that encourages discussions of daughtering behaviors, there is still a lack of scholarly work on the ways in which daughters perform the work of daughtering.

COMMUNICATION IN MOTHER-DAUGHTER RELATIONSHIPS OVER A LIFESPAN

The following studies are provided to show existing literature about daughters and their mothers which motivated the current study. The categories of scholarship presented here include a lifespan approach, populations in adolescence, daughters in college, and investigations of middle adulthood. Researchers are paying increased attention to

communication aspects of the mother-daughter relationship. While the mother-daughter relationship has clearly been shown to be important, Miller-Day, Fisher, and Stube (2013) have called for research that ties together mother-daughter experiences at different points over the lifespan. A lifespan lens addresses this need, because the dynamic nature of the adult daughter/mother relationship over time is typified by many changes, both positive and negative (Fisher & Miller-Day, 2006; Miller-Day, 2004).

Elder (1994, 1998) was among the first to present the idea that, "changing lives alter developmental trajectories" (1994, p. 1) and "the multiple trajectories of individuals and their developmental implications are basic elements of the "life course" (1994, p.2). The life course perspective holds that life events are dynamic, lives are on a trajectory and people's trajectories are linked (Hutchison, 2007). Elder (1994) said that lives are linked and the impact of events on one individual can affect others with whom they are linked, including family members. The interconnection between daughters and their mothers can be explained as the degree to which one "generation is bound to fateful decisions and events in the other's life course" (Elder, 1994, p. 40).

Hareven researched how adult children and their parents remain interdependent over a lifetime (1977, 1996, 2000). The pattern of mutual support between older adults and their adult children is formed by life events and transitions across the life course. This support may be emotional, instrumental, or financial (Schwarz, Trommsdorff, Albert, & Mayer, 2005; Schwarz, Trommsdorff, Kim, & Park, 2006). According to Fischer (1986), the adult daughter/mother relationship progresses over a lifespan as both mother and daughter are "holding on and letting go" (p. 63). Bojczyk and colleagues (2011) conducted a study of young adult daughters' and mothers' narratives of past events to construct meaning in their current relationships. Using the life course perspective, this study found that "the mother–daughter relationship during these years remains an important, intimate

bond. This bond continues to reflect the daughter's separation, autonomy, and independence against the backdrop of continuing closeness to, and emotional support from, mothers" (Bojczyk et al., 2011, p. 473). Though mothers and daughters have intertwined lives, they still experience many ups and downs over the course of many years. Schwarz (2006), in a study of self-reports from 183 adult daughters with an average age of 42, found that help exchange and reciprocity between mothers and daughters impacts relationship quality. Relationship quality for single or divorced daughters was lower than those in first marriages. The complexity of relationships between mothers and daughters change over a lifetime, and many factors impact how daughters experience the relationship. Acknowledging the complexities inherent in the relationships women share, I seek to understand how the individual relationships, and the role of an adult daughter, is understood and portrayed.

Other studies showcase one point in a lifetime of a relationship. Adolescence is known to be a tumultuous time in a mother-daughter relationship as a child goes through puberty and begins to individuate from her mother. In a study of mother-daughter relationships comparing African-American and European-American dyads, Penington (2004) interviewed adolescent daughters and their mothers for reported strategies to manage connection and autonomy and compared the role of ethnicity in these reports. Using frameworks of symbolic interactionism (Meade, 1956) and relational dialectics theory (RDT, Baxter & Montgomery, 1996), she found that African-American mother-daughter dyads favored a greater degree of closeness than did European-American dyads who favored strategies prioritizing autonomy. In another study of adolescent daughters (Coffelt, 2010), where RDT was used examine reports from adolescent daughters and their mothers, it was found that the sexual communication in nine close mother-daughter relationships may lead to greater closeness when the topic is considered a natural one for

discussion. However, the interviews also revealed the complexity of communication on sexual behaviors between mothers and daughters and the dialectical tensions present in the discourse of sex. Scholarship like this demonstrates the importance of examining life events, but neglects the everyday moments.

Life events, like divorce, are often used as a lens for studying communication between mothers and daughters. Luedemann, Ehrenberg, and Hunter (2006) asked young adult daughters to retrospectively report, using self-report questionnaires and interviews, on the talk with their mothers following her divorce which occurred in the daughter's early adolescence or childhood. The goal of the study was to investigate a component of family systems theory (Bowen, 1978), boundary violations. Boundary violations such as emotional and instrumental parentification of a child can affect the quality of a mother-daughter relationship and a child's adjustment into adulthood. Researchers were also interested in the current relationship quality for the mothers and daughters, as reported by the adult daughters. Results indicated that the emotional experience of the mother-daughter talks and frequency of talk on different topics predicted the quality of mother-daughter relationships, which in turn impacted a daughter's adjustment into adulthood and the current mother-daughter relationship. This study highlights the importance of mother-daughter roles and the value of communication between mother and daughter about important topics. In sum, research that is focused on experiences of adolescent daughters begins to create a picture of the complex connection between daughters and their mothers. This relationship begins to change again as daughters enter young-adulthood and many researchers have sampled college-aged daughters for studies that aim to better understand this relationship at various points over a lifespan.

Participants in one study of college-aged daughters, participants were asked during in-depth interviews using Retrospective Interview Technique (RIT) to identify significant

Turning Points (Baxter, 2011) that affected their adult relationships with their mothers (Harrigan & Miller-Ott, 2013). Specifically, the study focused on the discourses of participants and identified six types of discourses at work in the daughters' meaning-making experiences. In this study, the researchers advanced RDT by presenting a multi-vocality of meaning within and across discourses present in the study participants. The purpose of this study was to demonstrate how college-aged daughters engage in meaning-making about their relationships with their mothers. The authors found competing discourses that suggested a sometimes messy realignment period for college-aged daughters as they experienced a transition time with their mothers. In sum, the authors suggested that "daughters both want and reject interpersonal relationships with their mothers" (Harrigan & Miller-Ott, 2013, p. 128). The authors urged researchers to continue research with adult daughters past the college-age when, in their estimation, things may settle down and descriptions of mother-daughter relationships might change. Therefore, the population chosen for the present study will address this need.

In another study of college-aged daughters, Colaner and Rittenour (2015) investigated the well-being of daughters related to mothers' encouragement of feminine and masculine activities (a study that could also be categorized as a feminist or well-being perspective, found in sections above). Findings suggested that mothers who encourage daughters to incorporate both the feminine and masculine domains increased daughters' feelings of well-being, providing further evidence that maternal influence and the language of messages matter for adult daughters' well-being. Though there are many more examples of various contexts in which mothers and daughters have been studied, we still do not clearly understand how daughters exhibit their roles, or in other words, do daughtering. This study takes up this call and elicited role descriptions from daughters who are older than the traditional college age and are situated in mid-life.

The next lifespan context that has received some attention is the time of middle adulthood. The quality of intergenerational relationships in middle adulthood, a period of time that can last 30 to 60 years, can have a great influence on the well-being of both generations (Umberson & Slaten, 2000). Middle adulthood is this large period of time between the end adolescence and the start of elderhood. "This developmental period is very important because this is when a woman moves into adulthood, renegotiates her identity as a unique person with her own interests and life, sometimes falls in love, and often becomes a mother herself" (p. 5; Fisher & Miller-Day, 2006). Shrier, Tompsett, and Shrier (2004) reported that the majority of mother/daughter studies focus on childhood or gerontology. However, research on the importance of mother/daughter relationships in middle adulthood is growing (e.g., Fingerman, 2001; Fischer, 1986; Fisher, 2010; Miller-Day, 2004; Scharlach, 1987; Schwarz, 2006).

In Fingerman's (2001) study of middle-aged daughters, 35-58, all adult daughters reported some complaint, big or small, with their mothers. Daughters reported being annoyed with their mother, in general, and identified their mothers as the most annoying people in their lives. "Daughters start life viewing their mothers as omnipotent and infallible. As they become increasingly aware of their mothers' weaknesses in adolescence and adulthood, they may experience greater stress in the relationship" (Fingerman, 2001, p. 90). Despite this tension, daughters reported this annoyance was embedded in the relationship and part of the rhythm of their connection. Rather than viewing these annoyances as purposeful behaviors aimed at bothering the daughter, offspring generally achieve a state of "filial maturity" wherein they view their parents as adults with their own strengths and weaknesses (Marcoen, 1995). The relationship between daughters and their mothers continues to change over a lifetime but it is undisputed that they, "love one another a great deal, but they come to their relationships with different perspectives" (Fingerman,

2001, p. 195). For this reason, we must better understand the perspective of the adult daughter and the many forms of daughtering, as this study aimed to do. Even when older mothers are healthy, adult daughters in mid-life begin to provide individualized nurturance (Fingerman, 2000, p. 102), which prompts further study of how adult daughters enact their roles.

The mother-daughter relationship is also a key site of support in the event of a health scare. Fisher (2010) interviewed mother-daughter pairs in early, middle, and later adulthood where one participant was currently diagnosed with breast cancer. Using socioemotional selectivity theory (Carstensen, 1991), she found that supportive communication can be both helpful and unhelpful in the mother-daughter relationship, greatly dependent upon developmental needs of the diagnosed partner. Human development over a lifespan must be considered as an element of diversity in women's breast cancer experiences. Fisher also noted that mothers and daughters also better perform emotional support functions. To conclude, Fisher said that when studying mother-daughter communication, context matters, as well as the unique dyadic relationship, age, and development.

These studies demonstrate the importance of the connection between mothers and daughters in mid-life. But, their limited scope also points to the need for a greater understanding of the adult daughter's ties to her mother during this period, which this study offers. Because these studies also point to a need for understanding daughtering within contexts, this type of exploratory study is vital. This study asked daughters to describe everyday encounters in the relationships with their mothers. In doing this, the social construction of the adult daughter role was explored as well as the value of daughtering in adulthood. The relationship ties between mothers and daughters doesn't necessarily sever upon the mother's death (Moss & Moss, 1989). Nager and De Vries (2004) analyzed web-

based memorials created by adult daughters for their deceased mothers. The web pages were analyzed for content and daughters completed an online survey about their mothers' deaths, grief, and attachment styles. Nager and De Vries found that the content of the memorial pages created for the deceased mother varied by the daughter's attachment style. Ultimately, the authors found that attachment styles, bereavement, and the mother-daughter ties created a complex web, but the memorial pages offered a window of insight into that difficult time period. Additional scholarship on maternal death revealed that a mother's death leads to more negative effects on daughters than sons (Marks, Jun, & Song, 2007).

It is clear that this connection is enduring and lifelong, but few if any studies give a clear picture of a daughter's descriptions of daughtering, in her own words. According to Goldsmith and Baxter (1996), relationships can be understood as constituted by talk and social interaction. Therefore, a daughter's talk of her perceptions about her role as an adult daughter are important to study. Because it is clear that daughters maintain lifetime emotional ties to their mothers, this study asks for descriptions of daughtering in mid-life and aims to explore the many layers of this role.

THE CULTURAL ROLE OF DAUGHTERING

A study of daughters, in any part of the lifespan, must also include consideration of the environment in which they communicate. Families develop and sustain their own culture, according to Fingerman and Bermann (2000), which is socially constructed by the family itself. The culture of a family is a general pattern of beliefs, sustained in the habits and routines of everyday life (Fingerman & Bermann, 2000), and is key to understanding the nature of the adult daughter role. Walters (1992) recommends rethinking the mother/daughter relationship in "the more varied and comprehensive realm of culture and

society" (p. 10). Thus, in this study, I asked daughters to describe daughtering and appraise how their own daughtering behaviors fit within society's expectations of this role.

This study changes the way daughters are framed by gathering specific descriptions of daughtering from those who are doing it and showing the adult daughter role player as an active participant working in a dynamic relationship. Daughtering is often thought to be a passive activity; a daughter is a recipient of mothering—itself a common colloquial term (Walters, 1992). In fact, Glenn (1994) describes *mothering* as "a historically and culturally variable relationship in which one individual nurtures and cares for another" (p. 3). Indeed, the word *mothering* carries quite a bit of cultural baggage, functioning as a substitute in popular verbiage for any kind of caretaking. Mothering, Glenn asserts, is a social construct, created "through men's and women's actions within specific historical circumstances. Thus agency is central to an understanding of mothering as a social, rather than biological, construct" (p. 3). Glenn stresses that the construction of *mothering* take shape not only in ideas and beliefs, but within social interactions, identities, and social institutions (p. 4). Though Glenn's position is to challenge the biological notions of mothering, I borrow from her stance and investigate existing notions of daughtering behaviors. Just as Glenn asserts there are many ways to *mother* that do not look like prevailing cultural representations of this construct (middle-class, White, and biologically related), I investigated the ways daughters describe interacting within the mother-daughter role partnership that fall outside the umbrella term of *mothering* and instead can be termed *daughtering.* Following Glenn's notions of the construction of *mothering*, I have investigated the social construction of *daughtering* vis-a-vis participant responses about everyday interactions and daughters' distillations of the meanings of this role within their social interactions.

The first to call for a new verb was van Mens-Verhulst (1995), who says that the language we use is missing the verb: "to daughter" (p. 531). So when a daughter acts in a

kindly or giving manner to her mother, by Glenn's definition above, common language calls this behavior mothering (no matter who enacts it). However, terming it thusly ignores the reverse relationship from the younger, subordinate, obligated relational partner. Daughters are relegated to a passive, backseat role, while mothers are "semantically overburdened" in their role (Walters, 1992, p. 10). In this study, I asked daughters to describe their daughtering behaviors and their conceptions of the adult daughter role. Chapter 4 provides a description of *daughtering* that can benefit future research with this population.

The culture of the mother-daughter relationship is informed by many elements. Socially, daughters are linked to their mothers through a history of kinship obligation. Rossi and Rossi (1990) investigated the links between family members and presented data from a study of obligation. Participants were asked to rate vignettes about specific family members based on level of obligation. These were crisis events and celebratory events, which the researchers theorized would activate kin obligation. They found that daughters showed greater obligation to their mothers and offered them more comfort than to any other kin relation. In return, mothers offered greater financial support to daughters, and even to sons-in-law, which the authors believed is due to "the greater affective closeness of the mother-daughter relationship than any other parent-child dyad that ripples out into more distant kin relations, and provides the asymmetrical tilt to the maternal side in the American kinship system" (Rossi & Rossi, 1990, p. 189). It was no surprise that parental obligation topped the list of greatest kin obligation.

Before conducting the study, Rossi and Rossi noted, "A systematic survey is not needed to establish that the parent-child relationship is either the strongest kinship bond or yields first place only to the bonds between spouses" (1990, p. 157). The patterns found in Rossi and Rossi's data reinforce the importance of "the especially close bond between

mothers and daughters, a closeness that begins in childhood and continues throughout life" (p. 207). Therefore, the researchers say, interconnectedness over a lifetime is one important construct for evaluating mother-daughter relationships (Rossi & Rossi, 1990). The research objectives are informed by an assumption that the ongoing mother-daughter relationship is inherently important to a daughter, which aligns with the results of Rossi and Rossi's often-cited study of kinship roles. Buhl (2008) also noted the distinctive qualities of the relationship between mothers and daughters. Conducted in Germany, this study included 156 daughters and 202 mothers as well as sons and fathers. The results were separated by gender and role, thereby allowing for an understanding of some relationship qualities specific to the mother/daughter relationship. Buhl measured individuation by assessing connectedness and individuality of participants. Connectedness consists of "desire to please them, self-disclosure, a sense of obligation to the family and a feeling of attachment to the parents," whereas individuality, sometimes called separateness or separation, consists of "independence from parental authority, the construction of a self that is separate from parental influence, a change from unilateral authority to cooperation and a change in perceptions—from 'parents as figures' to 'parents as persons'—combined with de-idealization" (Buhl, 2008, p. 381). She found that individuation between daughters and their mothers continues as both age. More specifically, connectedness will decrease with age, but individuality, assessed as relative power, stays symmetrical, though daughters report having less power overall than do their mothers.

Roles, like that of adult daughter, are created over a lifetime through interactions between a daughter and mother, as well as through many other socially constructed experiences, and are manifested in many ways throughout one's life. The findings in this study confirm the importance of the adult daughter role within a woman's life and further our understanding of the effort to enact this role. Ruddick (1989) pioneered the discussion

of *mothering* as effort, or work, and not merely a biological tie between mother and child. Rather, mothering, she said, develops from practice of the discipline of mothering. When applying this active viewpoint to the notion of *daughtering*, this social role gains traction as a worthwhile area of inquiry.

A role lens has previously shown utility in the study of adult daughters. In an investigation of the mid-adult daughter's role with her elderly mother, Scharlach (1987) examined how role strain for middle-aged adult daughters is related to both the affectual quality of daughters' relationships with her mother and to her mother's well-being. 40 middle-aged daughters and 24 elderly mothers were given questionnaires on filial behavior, role strain, relationship quality, conflict and affectual solidarity. Scharlach found that daughters experience role strain, from role demand overload and perceived role inadequacy and that this role strain creates decreased relationship satisfaction for the daughters as well as lower psychological well-being for the mothers.

> In addition to her filial responsibilities, a middle-aged woman typically has a variety of other vocational, parental, marital, and social obligations, as prescribed by societal and personal values. To the extent that her relationship with her mother is perceived as interfering with her ability to fulfill these other role demands and meet her own needs, a woman is apt to experience a sense of "role strain" (Scharlach, 1987, p. 627).

Scharlach describes a daughter's role as one of commitment to her filial responsibility while also managing many other commitments in her life. The requisite balancing act to adequately fulfill these obligations can lead to role strain. Findings indicated that role strain can impact the quality of the elderly mother-adult daughter relationship, leading to reduced emotional well-being for the elderly mother. It is important to note that the role of a daughter is described by Scharlach as not only the fulfillment of obligation a daughter feels toward her mother, but the *balancing* of her many responsibilities. Though this begins

to describe the role, Scharlach does not define the role of an adult daughter nor characterize the variability within the role portrayals, which will therefore be explored in this study.

The cultural aspects of daughtering are not only situated within the dyad relationship between mother and daughter, but culture must also be considered when describing the adult daughter role within social interactions and institutions (Glenn, 1994). The social construction of motherhood has also been evaluated cross culturally. Korolczuk (2010) explored the social construction of motherhood in Polish daughters, and also included an investigation of daughterhood, which is the "entirety of the emotional, intellectual and physical effort which the daughter's role involves" (p. 470). In interviews with 16 women, her analysis indicated that the quality and form of the mother-daughter relationship is not only created through individualized experiences, but also informed by evolving cultural discourses (Korolczuk, 2010, p. 483). Similarly, in a cross-cultural comparison of 91 women of European-American, Asian-American, and Mexican-American cultures, Rastogi and Wampler (1999) found that perceptions of mother-daughter relationships vary across cultures.

The social construction of daughtering was also explored by Hampton (1997) who investigated the role of adopted daughters with their biological and adoptive mothers. Hampton interviewed adult daughters who were close to childbirth about the role transition to mother and the influence of both their adoptive and biological mothers on the adult daughter's identity. As these adopted women transitioned to motherhood, finding their biological mothers became more important, but did not overpower their desire to include their adoptive mother fully in the birth experience. Participants described their desire to be in relationship with both of their mothers, not prioritizing one over the other. With biological mothers it was important to foster a connection that started before birth and destroy negative messages, such as perceiving her biological mother as "not wanting" her

daughter or simply "giving her away." With her adoptive mother, a daughter continued the ongoing, daily interaction of intimacy and ambivalence throughout her birth experience. Hampton (1997) concluded that these women were able to construct their own views of mothering and daughtering, which is active and relational work. Though Hampton's study describes the ways in which daughters were daughtering, which was Hampton's use of van Mens-Verhulst's daughtering terminology, the focus of this study was a woman's transition to motherhood, and the nature of her role as a daughter was a secondary thrust. In many ways, the role of a daughter comes in second-place to the mothering role. Despite this, Hampton was able to demonstrate that, when asked, women had some conceptions of the work of daughtering.

Similarly, in a study of adult daughters who were reunited with their birth mothers after a long separation, Phoenix and Seu (2013) found that adult daughters evaluated taking up the daughter role with this new mothering figure and consenting to being mothered and/or providing daughtering to her. These daughters evaluated and chose to do daughtering and put forth the work of the adult daughter role with their newest mother role-partner. "They, therefore, exercised agency in daughterhood" (Phoenix & Seu, 2013, p. 312). The work of both Hampton (1997) and Phoenix and Su (2013) illustrate the active nature of daughtering and the labor component inherent to the role.

The work of women in everyday circumstances is often undervalued. Micaela Di Leonardo (1987) defined the term *kin work* to describe a new category of labor separate from household work or marketplace labor:

> By kin work I refer to the conception, maintenance, and ritual celebration of cross-household kin ties, including visits, letters, telephone calls, presents, and cards to kin; the organization of holiday gatherings; the creation and maintenance of quasi-kin relations; decisions to neglect or to intensify particular ties; the mental work of reflection about all these activities; and the creation and

> communication of altering images of family and kin vis-a-vis the images of others, both folk and mass media (Di Leonardo, 1987, p. 442).

Di Leonardo's description of kin work shows how the commonplace activities of women can often be taken for granted or undervalued due to the low profile of the activity, or due to the low value placed on gendered work. Altering the value of the work performed by women, Di Leonardo says, changes the conversation about how gendered work makes power accessible for women in non-market activities (p. 452).

The work of Hampton (1997) and Phoenix and Seu (2013) show how women choose to enact the efforts of daughtering. Linking this with Di Leonardo's (1987) concept of invisible forms of labor, Chapter 4 describes participants' descriptions of the labor associated with daughtering one's mother.

Daughtering can be considered as part of the effort of "doing family," according to Nelson (2006). Nelson extends the notion of "doing gender" to that of "doing family" in her study of adult women. She classifies doing family as actively fostering connections through which family is created and rehearsed. In addition to creating attachments, doing family means building boundaries and defining limits. The social construction of family relationships is sustained by the continued doing of family. This framework is key for understanding how daughters render their role. Chapter 6 will further explore the topic of social construction related to the adult daughter role.

The expectations for daughtering behaviors can be delineated by appropriate boundaries for this role. Boundaries are a salient topic to daughters, according to a study by Harrigan and Miller-Ott (2013). These researchers found that the interconnectedness of mothers and daughters can be tricky to navigate because "on one hand daughters value the opportunity to be independent from their mothers, yet too much independence makes them feel disconnected from their mothers" (Harrigan & Miller-Ott, 2013, p. 27). They

also reported that relational boundaries were a salient theme of responses from daughters when describing the communication they desire from their mothers. The adult daughter participants sought guidance from their mothers but believed there was a fine line between helping and intervening by their mothers. Additionally, participants said they valued their independence, but that too much distance led to a feeling of disconnection from their mothers. Their study describes adult daughters navigating their role in adulthood while still in college, however, these scholars solicited opinions of daughters about their mothers, not asking what the daughters themselves do or desire for themselves. This is a key distinction and this daughter-centered perspective is missing from many studies of daughters. A greater understanding of the substance of the role of adult daughters in mid-life will add to theory and our cultural knowledge. Following this explanation of the cultural role of daughtering, the following section summarizes the existing literature on role theory.

ROLE THEORY

Social behavior is not meaningless or random, but patterned behaviors- predictable, meaningful, and consequential for interactants (Allen & van de Vliert, 1984, p. 4). Roles, however, are also dynamic and are portrayed differently even by others in the same role. The concept of roles, according to Turner (2001) begins "with two observations: that 1) a given individual may act and even feel quite differently in different situations or positions; and 2) otherwise different individuals may behave quite similarly in similar relationships" (p. 233). Galvin, Braithwaite, and Bylund (2004) define roles as "recurring patterns of behavior developed through interaction that family members use to fulfill family functions" (p. 169). Roles are developed through *dialogue* among family members in an interactive process (Galvin, Braithwaite, & Bylund, 2004) and can be thought of as cognitions that

guide interactions. This study uses an interactional role theoretical assumption to guide this investigation, as opposed to a structuralist viewpoint.

> Most structural [role] theorizing starts with the implicit assumption that the status or position antedates the role and that the role is in some sense imposed on the individual. This assumption is an often useful partial truth when the origins of roles and statuses are not at issue. But interactional theorizing assumes that the patterning of behavior that constitutes roles arises initially and recurrently out of the dynamics of interaction and that statuses and positions arise to place roles in a social organizational framework (Turner, 2001, p. 234).

An interactive perspective includes consideration of personality, background, prior role models of a certain social position, the relationships in which a person interacts, changes over a lifespan, and how personal identity is enhance by a role (Galvin, Braithwaite, & Bylund, 2004, p. 169). The question remains how these roles are acquired or shed, performed or maintained. This study will fill a gap in the current literature for our understanding of roles performed in adulthood. Additionally, though the role of daughter may be well-formed in childhood and later when she cares for her aging mother, the mid-life daughter role has yet to be explored in detail.

It is important to distinguish that the terms "identity" and "role," though similar in nature, are not to be used interchangeably. When portraying a role, one is considering "who I am with respect to role partners" whereas one's identity is related to group membership or in other words, "who we are, including me" (Thoits & Virshup, 1997). According to Thoits and Virshup (1997), "A narrow definition of 'role' refers to two or more individuals in a specifiable relationship in which the role partners have reciprocal rights and obligations to one another (e.g. teacher-student, parent-child, employer-employee)" (Thoits & Virshup, 1997, p. 124). One's identity is an "identification of the self with a collectivity, claimed and enacted for or with other members ('who we are')" (Thoits & Virshup, 1997, p. 115). This kind of symbolic interaction creates an in-group

and an out-group as one categorizes herself in terms of shared similarities with members of social groups (and in contrast to other social groups) (Thoits & Virshup, 1997). Roles are fundamentally communication behaviors. While one may act (communicate) based on identity, the role is a joint performance with relational partners. Roles guide behaviors in social interactions.

> Interactionist theory begins by postulating a tendency to create and modify conceptions of self and other roles as a key orienting process in social interaction. While roles viewed as clear sets of identity-related expectations exist only in varying degrees of concreteness and consistency, the critical observation is that people behave *as if* there were roles. Role is a sort of ideal folk conception that constrains people to render any interaction situation into more or less explicit collections of interacting roles (Turner, 2001, p. 234-235)

Roles, therefore, can be understood not only as a cognitive experience (intrapersonal communication), but also as behaviors that are created, molded, and matured with others (interpersonal and group communication).

Because roles are performances with different role partners in different contexts, one criticism of role studies is that roles are poor indicators for understanding individuality of role actors (Turner, 2001). However, the response to this criticism is to recognize that individuals use many roles, which each vary in their depth and superficiality, but the ways in which people use roles can tell us about individuals. "For each individual, roles are arranged in a loose hierarchy from those most important to the individual's identity or self to those that matter relatively little to the role player" (Turner, 2001, p. 248). Roles, unlike identities, are situationally specific, meaning they exist within a particular system and in conjunction with particular role partners. People adopt self-meanings and expectations to accompany the role as it relates to other roles in the group and then act to represent and preserve these meanings and expectations. In sum, people learn how to enact roles by participating in situations where that role and partner roles are portrayed, then attach

meaning to these practiced experiences and events. Identities, however, are transsituational, meaning they are brought with a person to every new situation (regardless of whether they are activated or salient) (Thoits & Virshup, 1997). Roles will not be brought to every interaction event. For example, when performing duties of her job and her mother is not present at the workplace, a woman will not trigger the actions of the daughter role that she would use, for example, at a visit to her mother's house.

Both identity and roles can be understood through the idea of symbolic interactionism—these social concepts are created, maintained, and sustained through symbolic communication (Meade, 1956; Blumer, 1969). Blumer (1969) posited that humans act on things based on a meaning ascribed to them; these meanings are derived from social interaction, and are negotiated through an interactive process. Erving Goffman was among the first to discuss the linkage between identities and roles. Self is who one is, but a role is one's presentation of that self (Goffman, 1959). A performance of a role requires a script that one embraces before the acting begins. Then the role action becomes habit or second nature. And the role performer must put on a front.

> When an actor takes on an established social role, usually he finds that a particular front has already been established for it. Whether his acquisition of the role was primarily motivated by a desire to perform the given task or by a desire to maintain the corresponding front, the actor will find that he must do both (Goffman, 1959, p. 17).

Daughters, as actors, take on a role and perform it. First they must know there exists a script for the part, learn the script, then must perform the front. This idea, that there exists a script for the role of adult daughter, meaning that daughters know how to daughter their mothers and that an awareness of this script exists among daughters (Fisher & Miller-Day, 2006), compels this study. I believe there is more to the role of adult daughter than is

presently understood in the available literature, therefore this study investigates this possibility.

Role construction, or script-building, achieves its architecture through social construction. According to Berger and Luckmann (1966), the realities of life are intersubjective and therefore we share meanings with others. While it is not possible to know the realities of another person, however, as our common-sense thoughts occur, they co-exist with and overlap the experiences of the other. To combat this complexity and confusion, we employ typification schemes to manage interactions. A typificatory scheme is a standard way of comprehending a situation that we have created through life experiences and repeated interactions. We also apply these standards to others and the ways they interact. So daughters have expectations for how other daughters will probably (or should) behave with their mothers. These expectations for daughtering arise out of an awareness of the role that daughters play. These schemes are the basis for a larger social system and encompass commonplace, perhaps even mundane, routine and practiced behaviors.

Roles, according to Turner (2001), are linked through relationships to other roles. The adult daughter role works in partnership with the role of aging (but not elderly) mother. As daughters play their roles, they examine how mother plays her role. They have been examining for many years how their mothers (and others around them) play their familial roles. Adult daughters have also seen their mothers played the role of adult daughter to her mother in the past. The behaviors they witness inform their own typification schemes for the role of adult daughter. It's through repeated interactions that mothers and daughters internalize these guidelines, perform the routinized behaviors, and learn the role. These everyday behaviors constitute a role. By observing how a role partner behaves (or another

role performer like herself), a daughter uses and revises her typificatory schemes again and again over a lifetime.

The benefit of schema creation is tension relief (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). When one can economize psychological time better not spent considering repeated actions, tension is reduced. This economy of time results in a creation of norms with common interactants.

> Instead, much of what goes on takes on the triviality of what, to both, will be everyday life. This means that the two individuals are constructing a background, in the sense discussed before, which will serve to stabilize both their separate actions and their interaction. The construction of this background of routine in turn makes possible a division of labour between them, opening the way for innovations, which demand a higher level of attention. The division of labour and the innovations will lead to new habitualizations, further widening the background common to both individuals. In other words, a social world will be in process of construction, containing within it the roots of an expanding institutional order. (Berger & Luckmann, 1966, p. 75).

Thus, as participants in a lifetime of learning and cataloguing each other's behaviors, mother and daughter have a relationship deeper and more meaningful than that with another who has done less typificatory background work.

It is worth noting that the role of daughter is not created solely through interaction with one's mother. It is influenced by associations with others and connections that mother and daughter have made over a lifespan. Expectations are created and serviced throughout interactions. One goal of this study is to examine the social construction of the adult daughter role. Some might be quick to, incorrectly, assume that a mother-daughter relationship described as stable and an enduring, lifelong connection (Miller-Day, 2004) is, thus, inert or passively assembled. However, it is essential to characterize the adult daughter role as dynamic and constantly facing a dialectical struggle between opposite tensions (Harrigan & Miller-Ott, 2013). Changes, or transitions, in roles and role

performance are ubiquitous across a lifetime and throughout cultures across the world (Allen & van de Vliert, 1984). Because we know the role of a daughter has changed from an earlier age into what it is now, it is the goal of this study to discover more about the role of adult daughter and begin to outline it in detail.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

This study aimed to understand themes among topics that adult daughters discussed when considering their role as an adult daughter, which she enacts with her mother. This study was exploratory and therefore the goals were broadly stated. This study aims to explore:

- If adult daughters have a sense of role in relation to their mothers and, if so, what they say about the role.
- What daughters say about their everyday role with their mothers and what behaviors constitute daughtering.
- Any expectations adult daughters have for their role as an adult daughter.
- How a daughter's conceptions of daughtering and daughterhood relate to how society says a daughter should behave or communicate with her mother.
- Some of the various ways daughters can differ from one another within the adult daughter role.

Chapter 3: Methods

RESEARCH DESIGN

The use of qualitative methods gives voice to an experience, and in this study I have focused on the relational stories of participants, provided in their own words (Gergen, 1980). Gathering data using qualitative methods involves many things. "Entry and departure, distrust and confidence, elation and despondency, commitment and betrayal, friendship and desertion are as fundamental here as are academic discussions on the techniques of observation, making field notes, analyzing the data, and writing the report" (Punch, 1986, p.13). To collect data for this study, I conducted 33 face-to-face interviews, encouraging participants to give narrative examples. Data were then analyzed iteratively and thematically. By providing stories of actual events in daughters' relationships with their mothers, as well as reflecting directly on the role of an adult daughter, participants' responses represented their understanding of the socially constructed role they play. Participant responses were analyzed inductively and themes were generated from the data to reflect the research objectives of the study.

Inductive Approach

The qualitative methodological approach is interpretivist in nature. Unlike hypothesis driven studies, the qualitative approach I used began with no set expectations (Atkinson, 1998) in an attempt to uncover more aspects of the adult daughter role. Participants created stories and meaning-making experiences as they participated in the study, and my researcher's analysis then followed. In this method, subjective analysis created based upon participants' personal narratives should be viewed as complete, even in its unique perspective, "just as a portrait painted from the side or from the front is still a faithful portrait" (Atkinson, 1998, p. 60).

The inductive approach to social scientific research provides a way to understand the participants' individual, socially constructed realities. This approach also allows the adult daughter to give voice to her reality (Gergen, 1980). In order to interact with participants and gain a deep understanding of their perspectives, the researcher must have "intimate familiarity with the performance and significance of social practices" (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002, p. 11). Once the researcher finds meaning from the data, "evidence for claims about social action should be recorded and expressed using verbal and narrative means" (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002, p. 11). In this study, inductive research involved the data gathering and analysis, and I moved from a personal and specific understanding toward a general understanding of a given phenomenon (i.e. daughtering). While I approached the data collection this way, I was also considering the commonplace, even banal, aspects of a daughter's day-to-day experiences, which may get overlooked by other methods of data collection.

> Things, events, activities that seem commonplace, when approached from an analytical, naturalistic perspective, can be a source of significant meaning. Qualitative data analysis provides a method for categorizing and organizing the subtleties of everyday social phenomena in a meaningful way. (Krauss, 2005, p. 766)

These subtleties were able to be captured by meeting with participants face-to-face and deeply engaging with each woman.

Face-to-Face Interviews

The interview is a shared experience between the interviewer and interviewee and the respondent's answers often come out in story form (Riessman, 1993). The purpose of analyzing interview responses as narratives is "to see how respondents in interviews impose order on the flow of experience to make sense of events and actions in their lives" (Riessman, 1993, p. 2). Riessman (1993) maintains that the impulse to narrate is natural

and participants will easily slip into this when given the proper opportunity. Participants were encouraged to give narrative examples at the outset of the interview process. When necessary, I followed up a response by asking for a specific story that illustrated a participant's example. Narratives may take a variety of forms. Interviews have various lengths, topics, and complexities, but essentially the interview is a product of the talk between interview participants (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995). Gergen and Gergen (1984) believe that storytelling is one way to render an account of past events, and call this combination of a storylike-account a narrative, which is not bound to an objective version of truth or reality, but indicates the perspective of the teller. The formulation of the storied account is likely influenced by the telling of it. This interactive and reflexive activity allows one to consider the story in a new light and re-examine it, allowing for new meanings to emerge (Ellis, Bochner, & Tillman-Healy, 2000). The telling of a story, or account-making, is in itself the work of understanding one's role.

Accordingly, Bruner (1991) says that there is no knowledge that is "point-of-viewless" and the creation and telling of personal narratives are the tools for constructing our reality. He sees the context-sensitive nature of narratives as its best asset as a tool for gaining cultural knowledge. Bruner further argues that an interpretive research perspective that seeks meanings gleaned from "indigenous participants immersed in the culture" as the most effective way to learn about culture from the inside out (Bruner, 1991, p. 17).

PARTICIPANTS AND RECRUITMENT

Participants

The target population for this study was adult daughters (N = 33). Adult daughter study participants had to be females aged 25- 45 (mean age = 32.15, oldest participant =

44, youngest participants = 25).[2] This age range captured participants outside of the typical university age and lifestyle, but before the age when many adult daughters begin caretaking their infirm mothers. Participants were also required to have a living mother aged 70 or younger and in good health (mean age= 59.36, oldest mother= 70, youngest mother= 49). This age range for adult daughters was chosen in order to capture a time period for mothers and daughters when neither is the caregiver of the other, both are in relatively good health, the relationship events may be considered normative yet there are still many dynamic shifts and changes. Participants chose to identify any maternal figure to discuss during the interview, including but not limited to biological mothers, adoptive mothers, step-mothers, and grandmothers. The participant was only asked to report on a living, healthy mother and not asked to prove this relationship.

Additionally, participants self-reported their health and that of their mothers by circling good, fair, or poor health on the Participant Profile form (See Appendix A) and this information was not further verified. Study participants were not asked to report their sexual orientation, however three participants chose to self-disclose this information during our interview (Lesbian, $n = 2$; Queer, $n = 1$). Other than these three participants, I did not collect data on sexual orientation and I did not assume that lack of disclosure for sexual orientation meant that the participants identified as heterosexual. As for the three that did self-report, during data analysis I confirmed that their responses were not markedly different from other participants and therefore I included their responses among the identified themes and did not exclude these participants from analysis.

The sample for this exploratory study included participants who identified as White ($n = 23$), White-Hispanic ($n = 7$), African-American ($n = 1$), and Native American ($n = 2$).

[2]Erickson's psychosocial stages identify a Young Adult as aged 19-39 years and Middle Age Adult as aged 40-65. Maturity stage are those aged 65+. For the purposes of this study Mid-Life will be defined as 25-45 to sample participants who are peers with their mothers but not yet caretakers.

Participants were asked to report their annual income by circling a salary range on the Participant Profile form. Income distribution among this sample was as follows: Under $25,000 (*n* = 3), $25, 001- $35,000 (*n* = 4), $35, 001- $45, 000 (*n* = 1), $45, 001- $55, 000 (*n* = 6), $55, 001- $65, 000 (*n* = 9), $65, 001- $75, 000 (*n* = 6), $75, 001- $85, 000 (*n* = 0), $85, 001- $95, 000 (*n* = 4), $95, 000+ (*n* = 0). Although I would assume that income likely shapes relationships (i.e. Daughters with higher income have greater resources to visit or aid their mothers), my data analysis did not find any differences among respondents based upon annual income. Likely, this is because of the broad nature of the themes I found in the data, but does not reflect the day-to-day nature of interactions for daughters with highly variable incomes. I do not suggest that daughtering looks the same for all participants regardless of income. Rather, the data from this study and themes explored here does not reflect the likely disparities in daily daughtering.

Lastly, I knew about half of the participants before our interviews, as a friend or acquaintance. I have even met a few of their mothers. With the other half of participants, I had no knowledge of past history between mother and daughter, including pathological circumstances such as abuse, neglect, or violence, unless self-reported by the participant. For those participants that I knew personally before the study, I did not have in-depth knowledge of their mother-daughter history, but the knowledge I had did not include any pathological circumstances. Past experiences in their relationships were not used as a criteria for inclusion (or exclusion) in the study and, none of this study's participants reported grave or pathological circumstances that led to their exclusion. In sum, there were no outliers in this sample based upon past mother-daughter history.

Participant Recruitment

Participants were recruited for this study using convenience and snowball sampling. First, I solicited interviews from personal contacts that met the participant criteria. Each participant was asked if she knew of other women who might like to participate in the study and asked to give out my contact information. Additionally, as a member of an online community for mothers, I sought additional participants from this forum. The following paragraph was approved by the IRB for recruitment on a Facebook:

> I am a student at The University of Texas at Austin (Department of Communication Studies Dept., CMA 7.112, 2504A Whitis Ave, Austin, TX 78712-0115). I am recruiting participants for an investigational study on adult mother/daughter communication and relationships. I am looking for women, age 25-45, who have a living and healthy mother under age 70, and are willing to discuss their mother. If you are willing to discuss your life experiences with your mother, please contact me to participate in this study. Participation consists of a 1-2 hour interview at a location of your choice. Please contact me via private message or by phone (830) 515-8066. This study has been approved by The University of Texas at Austin Institutional Review Board.

I used saturation of themes as my gauge for study completion. Data collection was considered complete when no new information was being added by additional participant responses and themes were well developed (Glaser, 1978).

DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES

Participants first completed an IRB consent form for participation. This study was approved by the University of Texas Internal Review Board, under Protocol ID number 2013-01-0055. Included on this consent form was a request to contact the participant again within the following five years for a possible follow-up study. All participants agreed to this request, but it was not a requirement for participation in the current study. Participants were made aware that they could decline this request with no adverse ramifications. Each participant was given a copy of this consent form to keep for her records.

Next, participants completed a brief demographic data questionnaire, called the Participant Profile, confirming eligibility for the study and providing contextual specifics for the participant data set, including Name, Phone number, Age, Marital Status, Race/Ethnicity, Age/Sex of Children, Age/Sex of Siblings, Income range, City and State of Residence, Occupation, Health Status, and Education level (see Appendix A). Participants were also asked to provide their Mothers' Name, Age, Marital Status, City and State of residence, occupation, and education.

Participants were all asked the same first and last question. The order of the other questions varied or a question might be skipped if a participant had already provided a narrative that addressed that topic. I also asked follow up questions that were designed to inquire deeper, elicit participant narratives, and spur conversation. For example, I asked follow-up questions like, "Are you and your mother always on the same page about the direction of your relationship?" or "Can you tell me a story about how your relationship changed after that event?" I have learned, through previous studies with participant interviews, how to ask questions in a manner that aids in eliciting detailed, usable stories. For this study, I did not use any external verification techniques to determine if participant stories were accurate according to others in their stories (namely their mothers). Additionally, no member checking occurred. Though it might be ideal to visit with participants about preliminary findings as a study progresses (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), I did not add this technique. However, because I have the option to contact these participants again within the following five-year period, I may do so for a future study. Also, as I am a member of the community of daughters and have similar characteristics to the participants of this study, I continuously questioned if these results "ring true" to my adult daughter within. These are the qualities of trustworthiness that I applied during data collection (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). To balance any possible bias, I also avoided offering any advice

or passing judgement on the respondents (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011), both of which might create a sympathetic identification with participants and skew later data analysis.

After completing the interview, participant were given the opportunity to converse with the researcher, asking questions about the nature of the study, etc. During this time I often gave the participant feedback that her interview was helpful to the study, a confirmation that many participants were seeking. The participant was thanked and then left the research site.

Interview Questions

Interview questions created for this study are intended to allow participants to tell stories about their role as a daughter and their relationship with their mother.

1. How would you describe your current relationship with your mom? Are you close?
2. How often do you communicate? How? Phone- email-text- in person visits?
3. What is it like to be a daughter to your mother? (or Your mother's daughter?)
4. What does your mother expect from you? What do you expect from yourself?
5. Are you doing everything that you think **your mom** thinks you should be doing?
6. Are you doing as much as you think you should be doing?
7. What's the difference between the expectations of your mom and of you (for daughtering)?
8. Do you and your mom discuss your daughter role and how you do it?
9. Is being a daughter important to you?
10. Just to get a sense of each person's definition, can you define daughtering for me?
11. Are you the kind of adult daughter the world expects today?
12. Have you thought about what society thinks about daughtering?
13. What does society say that a daughter should do? How do you get these messages?

14. Is it easy or hard to do what society thinks daughters should do?
15. Do you have any goals or desires for the future of your relationship with your mother?
16. Is there anything that I should have asked you? Anything I left out?

Fieldnotes

I also took detailed fieldnotes by hand during and after the interviews, using a composition notebook. Fieldnotes were first written as raw records and transcribed soon after into formal fieldnotes, as described by Tracy (2012, p.117). These notes often consisted of quotes from participants that stood out as unique or useful to remind me to revisit later. Additionally, fieldnotes sometimes describe the tone or demeanor of the participant, the atmosphere of the location and how it alters the interview experience, as well as facial expressions and hand gestures that will not be recorded by an audio file. The details of participants' actions, lives, and attitudes were key to analysis of the data and clarifying the reality of the field, including the participants in it (Gubrium, 1988). Because researchers are twice removed, "in that they interpret the interpretations of those studied" (Gubrium 1988, p. 16), detailed fieldnotes were necessary to understand the multi-dimensional responses of participants.

Recordings

All interviews were audio-recorded so data could be transcribed verbatim. Participants were made aware of audio recording when they sign the IRB consent form to participate in the study (See Appendix B) and I made it obvious when I turned on the recording device so that the process was transparent for participants. I attempted to begin recording as soon as a participant signed her consent form, because these women were frequently chatting while filling out the form and I did not want to miss recording

something important. I always continued recording past the final questions also. Including more than just the interview questions in the audio recording allowed me to gather data participants provide when the formal questions end but the conversation continues. Sherr (2000) says that some participants choose the last moment, when they are about to leave an interview with their "hand[s] on the doorknob," to reveal the most important details" (p. 14). Letting the recording continue until a participant was intended to allow for the capture of a particularly useful insight that I did not think to ask during the interview or which came organically from our conversation.

I used the AudioMemos voice recorder application on an iPad, which allowed for easy playback, facilitating transcription (see the Coding and Transcription section below for further details). The iPad remained closed and was unobtrusively placed on the table during the interviews. Audio files were saved digitally as a .wav file and then transferred from iPad to computer for transcription.

Researcher relationship with the participants

I aimed for the interviews "to be a personal and intimate encounter in which open, direct, verbal questions are used to elicit detailed narratives and stories" (Dicicco-Bloom, & Crabtree, 2006). For this study, I perceive my similarity to participants to be an asset to this research. My goal is to be fully immersed in the same types of social relationships under study as my participants. I can, therefore, attach meanings to their stories in a way an unfamiliar researcher cannot. Only through my immersion was I be able to analyze the stories told. I had many similarities with the adult daughter participants in this study, which I took into account during my data analysis (as noted in Chapter 4 discussion of emotion work). However similar I was to the participants, I allowed for the *differences* in our stories to emerge, so that I could learn about the ways she was not similar to me.

I knew some of the study's participants from previous interactions or shared social networks prior to our interview. Yet, I made a dedicated effort to interview these participants in the same way I interviewed a new acquaintance. To that end, I asked the personal acquaintances to fully describe their relationship with their mother with the presumption that I did not know any of their past history. This way, I was able to capture their descriptions of the current relationship with their mothers. I also made it clear to these personal acquaintances that the interview materials and any resultant analysis are confidential and will not be brought up by me in the future. By providing details about myself, my knowledge of the culture of daughterhood, and transparency about my analysis, the data from this study may be considered valid.

Reliability of the data

Narrative research is inherently subjective and situated within a context. The nature of data reliability is the ability for a study to be replicated again with the same results, but the way one tells a personal story is usually not the same at a different time or in a different setting (Gergen & Gergen, 1984). According to Denzin and Lincoln (2011), another source of reliability in qualitative research methods is an explicit and transparent procedural trail for any researcher who may wish to replicate the study or conduct one similar. This study followed set procedures in order to provide a measure of reliability in the data collection. Lindlof and Taylor (2011) say that reliability is not a primary concern in qualitative inquiries because the researcher acknowledges the multiple, changing realities of participants. Because the data from a qualitative analysis is necessarily situated in a certain time and place, and is also presented through the lens of a researcher's own perspectives, replicating a study would be neither a desirable nor practical endeavor. A different way to frame the data from this study would be to evaluate its trustworthiness. This can be

achieved through a detailed description of the researcher's credibility for studying the mother/ daughter relationship and a "thick description" (Geertz, 1973) of the phenomena under investigation. Geertz used the term "thick description" to mean a researcher's best efforts to present a rich, detailed description of the events and relationships analyzed with clarity and consistency. Creating a thick description will allow readers of the study to determine if the study rings true.

Validity of the data

The validity of research in qualitative methodology is judged by a researcher's credibility and the analytic generalizability of the data upon completion (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). A researcher's credibility may be understood as the internal validity of a study, through her prolonged exposure to a phenomenon and immersion in the subject material, described in field notes throughout the study or in the thick description of data collection and analysis in the final report. External validity is completed through transferability of the knowledge created in one context onto another. Although a personal narrative is individual for each participant and highly contextualized, there is still an overlap of generic human processes at work. When the researcher thoroughly describes the contextual details of a participant and data, the reader may be able to consider these nuances and yet still find application to personal events or processes. The deeper the description, the better able the analyst is to sort contextual elements. Conceptual validity of a study may be assessed via a study's strong linkage to a theory or construct (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011).

DATA ANALYSIS

Analysis began with a search for meaning and an inherent understanding of subjectivity on the part of the researcher and participants (Geertz, 1973). For this study, Thematic Analysis was employed, looking for themes across participant stories. Thematic

analysis is "a descriptive strategy that facilitates the search for patterns of experience within a qualitative data set" (Given, 2008). This type of analysis allows for a broader cultural understanding of themes that may appear in many stories from participants in similar cultural settings. For this study, the cultural emphasis is on the everyday nature of the role of an adult daughter.

All participants were asked to tell stories of specific instances, rather than hypothetical, when answering interview questions. These words can be understood symbolically to represent a participant's perceptions, ideologies, and even unwitting assumptions (Goldsmith & Baxter, 1996; Corbin & Strauss, 2008). Systematic interpretation of the messages from participants using these roles creates a better understanding of how these experiences create meaning for the participants about themselves, their relationships, and their social world.

Clifford Shaw, in his study of a delinquent's life of crime (1966), provided the perspective that life stories not only speak to one past experience, but as stories that relate important features of shared, socially-constructed daily life experiences. Thus, the epiphanies revealed in this study are presented in the upcoming chapters as artifacts of personal meaning-making embedded in a cultural understanding of what daughtering means within a shared social environment. Emulating the reports of Shaw, details of some stories from the data set provide biographical particulars, but overall, they speak to a story about a social world (Gubrium & Holstein, 2008, p. 248). Included in this is an understanding that the truths are revealed via Stanley's stories and Shaw's presentation, just as I chose elements of the collected data to present.

Coding and Transcription

As interviews were conducted, I was iteratively analyzing the data during and after interviews. According to Tracy (2012), "The problem-based approach of qualitative data analysis… is best described, not as grounded, but as iterative. Iterative analysis alternates between emic, or emergent, readings of the data and an etic use of existing models, explanations, and theories" (p. 184). In order to reflect upon the ideas presented by participants, I used my field notes during interviews to jot down asides to myself like phrases such as "she's never heard of this" or "contradictory from above." This kind of memo-writing, Tracy (2012) says, helps a researcher write first and understand later. My memo-writing also took place after the interviews as I went back through the field notes and circled items, added comments, or connected ideas to previous interviews. Doing this iterative process during data collection informed future interviews because when I noted something similar, I could begin to code this as a theme, or if I noticed something new and different, I labeled it as an epiphany. The iterative process is not a repetitive task that I mimicked from one interview to the next, "but rather a reflexive process in which the researcher visits and revisits the data, connects them to emerging insights, and progressively refines his/her focus and understandings" (Tracy, 2012, p. 184).

Each interview was saved as an audio file, labeled with the participant's pseudonym. I listened to every interview again and noted new or interesting topics, phrases, or epiphanies. Noticing these themes came from listening and re-listening to the stories as well as looking back at my field notes and analytic memos. Because I began this analysis as interviews continued, I was able to jot down within my field notes when I heard something new or interesting to probe later. This was an important step because the data led the knowledge construction rather than me imposing personal expectations on what might emerge. As a member of the group under investigation (an adult daughter in the

appropriate age group), I wanted to make efforts not to interpret stories from my experiences, but, as much as possible, consider the stories women told me as data to be explored. Upon hearing all of the participant's interviews multiple times, it became more clear which topics could be further collected into themes and those which stood alone to be analyzed as sui generis.

In addition to this process, I sent all recordings for verbatim transcription through a contractor via the website Upwork.com. Transcripts ranged from 13 to 23 pages of single-spaced text, resulting in 570 pages of transcript for all 33 participants. Due to the nature of the open-ended questions, the interviewee was allowed to take the topic in a direction she prefers. Because of this, there were sometimes extended periods in which the interviewees discussed things only tangentially relevant to the present study. This meandering accounts for the variation in length of the interviews and transcripts. After I received the transcripts, I read them through, and was also listening to the audio recording simultaneously. There were a few instances where I corrected the transcript to reflect what I heard on the audio recording and was interpreted differently by the transcriptionist.

The next step was to write down ideas for possible themes. I did this a few times, trying to gather themes together or determine if themes should be separated. I also took the opportunity to bounce ideas off of a colleague and an advisor. After these conversations, I was able to separate the data into six themes. I turned to the transcripts to find selections that exemplified each theme. After a final review, I collapsed the results into six themes, accomplished by joining the final two themes into one. Selections, provided in the following chapters, were determined by how well a particular response fit with the theme being presented. I made an effort to include at least one response from each participant in the following chapters. This type of analysis, Tracy (2012) says, is creative and messy—"one in which researchers attempt to harness their instincts and hunches, so that they may

come to significant, even groundbreaking insights about the data" (p. 184). The following section describes the manner of collecting themes.

Identifying Themes

A thematic approach should focus on the content of the narrative, not its form. This type of analysis aims to understand the "point" being illustrated with the story. One of the most essential elements for any researcher is to be transparent about methodology, interpretations, and theoretical positions for the reader, because there is not only one correct interpretation. Analysis of texts takes place on a case basis rather than a population study. However, despite this detailed focus, a deep narrative description can help the reader "think beyond the surface of a text and move toward a broader commentary" (Riessman, 2008, p. 13). Riessman highlights the importance of case-centered data that does not fracture the narratives like, for example, grounded theory methodology might do. In this report, I found that participant narratives provided descriptions of daughtering and other aspects of the adult daughter role. Themes reflect the sense-making of adult daughter participants on these topics. Sensemaking theory (Weick, 1979) emphasizes that people make sense of their environments retrospectively. This study asked participants to describe their sensemaking about the adult daughter role and associated behaviors, but did not investigate the actual behaviors. An approach with a focus on sensemaking "contrasts with cognitive approaches, which suggest that thinking *precedes* external talk and action" (Tracy, 2012, p. 58). As the participant communicates her understanding of the adult daughter role to me, I can learn how she thinks about herself and what she believes about this role, which in turn can help explain how she renders it, communicatively, with her mother and the world. Weick (1979) says that sense-making can be summed up by the question "How can

I know what I think until I see what I say?" The "what I say" part of this question therefore categorizes sense-making as a communicative activity.

Theoretical extensions

After identifying relevant themes from participant narratives, the next step was to assess the implications of this study in order to add to theories of interpersonal communication. The results of this study add to our knowledge about the adult daughter role and interactional role theory. In addition, other frameworks are proposed which conceptualize the work of daughtering within the adult daughter role and the collective competence daughters gain from a social system of meaning. A role lens highlights the ways women think about and act like adult daughters to their mothers, which is, at its core, a communicative endeavor. A comprehensive discussion of theoretical ideas can be found in Chapter 6.

Chapter 4: The Ambiguous Understanding of Daughtering

"We are two very, very different people and we have a relationship that's based on mutual respect and understanding and effort. It is not something that is just inherent. It's work on both of our parts and neither one of us mind doing it."
- Jenny, 38

Exploratory objectives of this study included discovering what daughters say about the adult daughter role, if anything, and revealing more about the everyday role behaviors that constitute daughtering in the mother-daughter relationship during adulthood. In order to understand the role of adult daughter, women were asked not only about the nature of their relationships with their mothers and how they communicate, but they were also asked to think about the nature of the role itself. The questions and topics discussed in our interviews were surprising to many women. While daughters anticipated discussing their mothers, but when asked to think about themselves and their communication in the relationship, many women felt that they were doing so for the very first time. This reflective engagement brought forth descriptions of role behavior, but also emotions and assumptions about the role itself. From the outset, it was clear that women had limited linguistic tools for discussing this role and that this even felt strange or awkward at the outset of our conversation. By encouraging when to engage in extensive reflection about their role as daughters, I found that daughters were able to discuss roles. In this chapter, I demonstrate that through in-depth interviews with mid-life adult daughters, I found themes of Borrowed Vocabulary, Consideration for the adult daughter role, and the Labor of Daughtering.

The first theme describes the challenge participants faced when discussing how they daughter their mothers. Daughters used terms borrowed from other roles to describe daughtering, including words like *friends, mothering,* and *caretaking.* These use of these

placeholders, which do not adequately label the behaviors daughters described, demonstrates a borrowed vocabulary for discussing the adult daughter role.

The second theme of this chapter explores how the role of adult daughter remains firmly out of the spotlight. This theme illustrates that while participant narratives established active personal relationships with their mothers, most daughters had not mindfully considered their daughtering role. However, after allowing for ideas about this role to emerge, participants had a burgeoning awareness of daughtering role behaviors previously uncatalogued. Through our discussion, participants began to consider how frequently they discussed roles such as Wife, Mother, and Friend with informal evaluations by themselves and role partners but established that they did not perform the same evaluations with the role of adult daughter.

The third theme in this chapter shows that, while daughters borrow terms from peripheral role portrayals to describe daughtering and a shallow awareness of their role (themes one and two), they are indeed doing the work of daughtering. Daughters actively participate in their relationships and mold the adult daughter role. These efforts are largely undervalued and uncredited as labor, contributing to the continued demotion of the work of daughtering and the downgrading of the primacy of this role in daughters' lives.

Based on a thematic analysis of my interviews with daughter, I argue that we need to conceptualize a term that deals more explicitly with the actual duties or roles of daughters. Therefore, I describe daughtering behaviors, which allows us to look at daughtering in mid-life as an active role portrayal and explore the variety of behaviors daughters enact in the course of their role portrayals.

THEME 1: BORROWED VOCABULARY

Daughters have a lot to say about their mothers, but when it comes to describing themselves, they hit a stumbling block. The first theme of meaning that emerged from a careful review of the data was the way women borrowed vocabulary from similar role portrayals in order to describe the adult daughter role.

"We're friends"

Messages from Hollywood and popular media provide ready examples of the popular verbiage of describing one's mother as a friend or even best friend (see the revival of the extremely popular show *Gilmore Girls* for one extreme example of mother-daughter best friend depiction). At the start of every interview I asked women to describe their current relationship with their mother. Many women identified her as a friend or best friend. This label was easily accessible for daughters to use when describing a close and comfortable relationship, but the descriptions given by participants did not always match the terminology, even contradicting it on occasion.

Clara, who is temporarily living with her mother while waiting for her new house to be built, said:

> A lot of my friends, their moms were their friend. My mom she was not my friend for a long time, she was my mother and she always said that like, 'I am not your friend, I am your mom.' Up until like recently, now that I am older and I guess she is not responsible for the dumb decisions that I make now. She is my friend now, we're friends now. We talk like friends, we hang like friends do.

I followed this by asking Clara if she feels like she and her mother have other qualities of friends, such as being equals. She responded:

> I don't feel like that living in her house and doing her chores or whatever. I don't feel like we are equals. I guess that's just more like me like I feel because I am not in my own house, doing my own thing, I don't feel like that. I think she probably considers us equals.

However, Clara's description shows how the word *friend* is a close, but inadequate description for her role with her mother. Clara's description of friendship rather, implies the negotiation of power and familial obligation. As another example, Clara said when having a heated argument, her behavior is different specifically with her mom than she would behave with her husband or a friend.

> I guess it's more emotional with my mom because we cry a lot together unlike my husband I might apologize but I won't cry so much or with a friend, same thing I wouldn't cry. It's definitely more emotional with my mom.

Although Clara initially used the role of friendship to identify her feelings and behaviors with her mom, throughout the interview she redefined that term to fit what she was experiencing in the relationship which she had no other way to express. She made comparisons of intimate relations including husband, friend, and mother. In this case, Clara used the term friend as a placeholder for lack of a better word that would describe a relationship with her mother which is intimate, positive, and less hierarchical than when she was younger.

Similarly, Kelsey described her mom as her "best friend" and subsequently "very best friend" during our interview. Kelsey told me about a time when she moved back to her hometown and lived near to her mother: "We were best friends again, ya know? I mean, she, that's probably the point in time that, she really became my very best friend." Although these terms align with Kelsey's understanding of their roles and closeness at that point in time, she gave depictions of ways that the relationship is, in reality, not like a best friend, but requires Kelsey to tread very lightly to maintain that status. For instance, Kelsey said that the requirements for mom's happiness include living in the same town, not disagreeing with her, and allowing her access to the grandkids. While any relationship requires sacrifices, Kelsey's "best- friendship" with her mother, when viewed critically, is

actually comprised of Kelsey keeping her mother happy to avert her mother's punishing and stonewalling behaviors.

Later in the interview, Kelsey described a time when she sheltered her mother from disappointing news of a problem early in her pregnancy. Instead of telling her mother, she spoke with several other friends who supported her. Her reasoning for this demonstrated the complex nature of daughtering one's mother where sometimes concern for your mother overtakes personal desires.

> Ya know, there kinda comes a point in your relationship with your parents when you are the grownup and you feel like, they're… It's not that they're not the grownup anymore, but you get to a point when you, where they've been sheltering you your whole life, and then you kind of, you kind of get even at some point, and then you get to a point when you're sheltering them a little bit.

The clear contrast here is that Kelsey did indeed reach out to peers for emotional support, but did not do so with her mother, despite claims that her mother is her very best friend.

Another participant, Sabine, a 33 year old daughter from the Northeast region of the United States, said her mother is her best friend: "And my husband thinks my relationship with my mother is weird that I treat her more like a friend versus a mom but my mom is my best friend." Sabine went on to say that as an adult she has come to see herself as an equal to her mother.

> … Because we always have respect for your elders and respect for your mother and then at that point in time that's when you guys become equal. Not that you are equal all the time but there are just moments in time that you become equal and it was hard for me to have to stand up to my mom and say no and it was hard for my mom to realize that we were equal and we're both now parents but I am a parent of a small child, she is a parent of a large child.

Sabine begins by saying that she and her mother are now equals, but quickly begins to qualify this statement. She elaborated that the moments of equality are brief, not enduring.

I asked Sabine to describe what happens when that moment of equality is over and she said:

> Yeah, but we go back to a mother-daughter relationship and it's just not because she is a grandparent now…. The level becomes more even I should say and she was still my mom. Does that make any sense? Yeah, because she is my mom. I guess more because I have a good relationship with my mother. I think if I have a poor relationship with my mom like I say she is an alcoholic, she was into drugs, she abandoned me and then tried to come back in my life, I think if it was something to that effect then yeah, I would be her superior but my mother will always be my superior no matter what. She is my mom. But I think that's because we have a good relationship.

Sabine's account of equality in her relationship began depicting them as equals and ended by demonstrating that they will never be equals, a contradictory depiction that nevertheless makes sense to her. Overall such incongruous statements point to a paucity of accessible language for describing complex interactions between adult daughters and their mothers.

Another participant, Jenny, a 38 year old daughter, used the term *best friend* to describe her relationship with her mother, but as a divergent role depiction instead of as a defining term. Jenny said, "Like we will go shopping and that kind of stuff but it's not like a best friend, like we don't go do all the time." I asked Jenny how she knows this is *not* a best friend role dynamic and she replied:

> Because I don't try as hard…I would be more congenial with the best friend. I would definitely kind of add some entertainment and there is definitely some things that happen where I would want to walk away or would walk away with another human being and I won't with her. Like I will fight with my mother where I would not fight with my best friend. Like, some things you just let go. And there is always that level of distance, right? So with a best friend I might talk about all my family and everything that was going on and all my relationships and I can do that with my mom too but she will curve it. She doesn't talk to me about her relationship with my father. Not much. I mean, not anything inappropriate. It's just like, "Well, he is pissing me off," or what married couples of 20 years say about each other. And she doesn't talk to me about her relationship with her other children, which I feel is appropriate. So there is not the equal level of disclosure

> that I would have with a best friend but I do feel it is appropriate for mother-daughter.

In this instance, Jenny framed her definition of the adult daughter role by mostly describing what she and her mother *do not* do. They do not go shopping all the time. Jenny does not try hard to be congenial and does not add entertainment to her time with her mother. She does not fight over the same things as she would with a friend, and she does not talk about anything inappropriate. On the other hand, Jenny indicates that she does fight over some things with her mother and maintains appropriate disclosure levels with her mother. In order to readily describe their roles, Jenny uses a role that is more clearly defined in her mind to compare and contrast her meaning.

Scholars have previously studied the idea of a mother functioning as a friend. According to Buhl (2009), although mothers and daughters are often assumed to have a friend-like relationship, a comparison of relationship structures revealed that is not the case. Though mothers are comparable to friends in support behaviors, Buhl found a greater amount of conflict and a symmetry of power in the mother-daughter relationship that differs from friendships. Arnett (2007) also describes how, as children emerge from childhood into adulthood, they become more like friends: "relationships be- tween emerging adults and their parents becomes closer to a relationship between equals (or at least near—equals) than it is in childhood or adolescence" (p.220). The descriptions of friendship between an adult child and her parent indicate relationship closeness, support, power balance, and [mutuality] are negotiated, but also show that friendship remains an imprecise depiction for illustrating the relationship complexities between adult child and parent. While the relationship is becoming "increasingly egalitarian" (Miller-Day, Fisher, & Stube, 2013, p. 7), scholars have shown that the mother-daughter relationship, while *like* a friendship, is different than one.

Using the term "friend" or "best friend" was the most common role comparison throughout all participant interviews for this study. Perhaps this nomenclature is easy to call to mind because a daughter does function to fulfill some features of a relationship that friends might also perform. However, it is clear from descriptions that mothers are not the same as peer-best-friends. The mother-daughter relationship is complex and constantly in flux; a mother can be peer-like at times or overbearing and nagging in other contexts. The level of closeness present in mother-daughter relationships allows certain types of interactions to occur that would not be found in other familial relationships. Beyond the language of friendship, participants also used other terms to describe the role of daughters in adulthood, as described below.

Now I'm the Mother/ Mothering her

Mothering is a broad term used to describe nurturing behaviors. Glenn (1994) described mothering as "a historically and culturally variable relationship in which one individual nurtures and cares for another" (p. 3). This definition, then, relegates all nurturing behaviors of any sort with the mother role based on the nomenclature. Moreover, this terminology also suggests that biologically mothers must all be nurturing. Indeed, neither of these are true: all nurturance is not mothering and all mothers are not nurturing. Mothers are clearly "semantically overburdened" (Walters, 1992, p. 10) in their role, yet this term is being used by daughters to describe the support given to their mothers.

During Tessa's interview, she frequently used the term *mothering* to describe behaviors she enacts for her mother. I asked Tessa, a 26 year old single mother who has a distant relationship with her mother, how she feels about being her mother's daughter. Tessa replied:

> I've never had anyone ask that before. How I feel about it? I know she sucks as a mom. I think I have had to do a lot of mothering her myself, I can't imagine my

> life any different as anyone else's daughter but I don't think she is a bad person with ill intentions. I think she is just a person with a lot of excuses and I feel like these [are] excuses I would not have given. I do whatever I can to figure it out because if I don't figure it out, there is no one to figure it out for [my daughter] so I feel like she just kind of leaned on stuff that other people wouldn't have [leaned on to make their lives easier]. So I don't know. I don't feel, like, proud to be her daughter or anything like it.

Tessa, like several other daughters in this study, does not have a satisfying relationships with her mother. Despite this, I found no difference in her language use when discussing daughtering as compared to other participants. She used the verb *mothering* to describe these emotionally supportive requirements. I asked Tessa what she meant by "figuring 'it' out" and she said that meant figuring out "life" and ways to deal with her mother because she does not want to relate to her daughter like her mom has related to her. Tessa described taking care of her mom and emotionally propping her up.

Though this term was the closest Tessa could find for describing late-life caretaking considerations, it was insufficient for what Tessa is attempting to explain. This was a commonality amongst participants who struggled to find words that adequately expressed their meanings. Tessa is tangling her feelings of supporting her mother with her decisions for mothering her young daughter. In this instance, the term mothering was an easy shorthand to describe how Tessa is demonstrating the same behaviors towards her daughter and mother both, but in reality the role performance as a daughter-to-her-mother is quite different from that of mother-to-her-daughter. While she describes emotional support given and lack of boundaries in the relationship with her mother, Tessa is not giving daily instrumental or financial support to her mother like she does for her child. However, this kind of word substitution shows how imprecise verbiage can contribute to a poor understanding of daughtering, which she was conflating with mothering.

Celeste, an only child who said she is guided by her cultural influences, which she describes as *Hispanic* and which refers to her Mexican-American upbringing. She uses the

noun and label *Mother* to describe her role and her position in the extended-family structure. When Celeste had a child, her mother became The Grandmother and Celeste became The Mother for the family, which included her family of origin and procreation.

> When you become, I guess, the Mother and she is the Grandmother, you turn the tables and now you help her and care for her the way she cares for you when you were a child. Once you get older that's when issues switch. When you are an adult you switch to the caregiver to care for her and making sure everything's good instead of her having to ask you, 'Are you okay? Are you healthy?' and all that. It turns around.

While Celeste began by describing her role as daughter as a structural position, she articulated that this position is accompanied by explicit role expectations. As Callero (1994) argues in his explanation of roles as cultural resources, "roles are viewed as the behavioral expectations that are…emanating from one's social structure" (p. 229). In the case of daughters, I use the terms *expectations* throughout this dissertation to mean the role characteristics daughters believe are necessary to perform the role of adult daughter well, as revealed by participants in this study. I also use the term *enactments* to mean the way roles are used (Callero, 1994). Later in our interview, Celeste demonstrated that she bristles at many of these expectations and struggles with completing the required tasks, bucking what she feels are outdated cultural expectations. Celeste defined her role through language she has learned in her family culture, but does fully act in accordance with the definition she provided. She uses the term *Mother* to define a position and required activities such as making dinners for the whole group and becoming the central decision maker for the direction of the family. However, when she later said she does not fulfill these expectations, it became clear that the words for defining her individual actions, not the expected behaviors (with rote descriptions), were unreachable. When asked if she does what her mother expects her to do, Celeste said:

> I guess she expects that she works and then she comes home and she has to take care of my child and that once I get off from work—because I was home earlier—I should have dinner ready for the whole family instead of just her coming home, taking care of my child, making dinner for everybody, but I don't.

This contradicts what Celeste earlier told me her job as the daughter requires, so I asked how her mother reacts to this behavior, to which she replied, "Once in a while she gets really frustrated but otherwise she just makes dinner." Celeste continued to tell me that, though culturally she is expected to do certain things,—and earlier said that she did them—she does not strictly follow these expectations.

Celeste told me that one cultural expectation in regards to her mother is that, "Basically she is the wisest person in the family and we are supposed to rely on her and not supposed to question her and you are supposed to just give her basically respect and help her." I followed up on this statement by asking her if Celeste ever questions her mom and she responded, "Yeah. I don't listen to that part. I question her." In sum, Celeste defined her role as "Mother," but later contradicted her description by stating that she does not actually complete all of the required activities that accompany the role of Mother.

According to Walters (1992), women are often tied to the mothering role by reproducing elements of the duties associated with motherhood in their discourses. From a feminist standpoint, this reproduction of mothering continues a longstanding dichotomous narrative about mothers and daughters: In this narrative, the relationship is either valorized as a transcendent bond or pilloried as ties that imprison daughters to destructive relationships (Walters, 1992, p. 161). By using gendered and contextually meaningful language to describe one's actions (which differ from the literal meaning of the word), mothers become known as either saints or sneaks, while "daughters are, as always, the passive respondents to these maternal machinations" (Walters, 1992, p. 161). The term *mothering* has, at its essence, a nurturing slant, but also designates this word as particular

to a mother-role, a distinction earned by being a mother. That is not the claim of the women from this study, who described their behaviors as daughters, but used the language applicable to mothers. Glenn (1994) describes *mothering* as a social construct that takes shape not through men's and women's ideas and beliefs, but also within social interactions, identities, and social institutions (p. 4). The practice of mothering is not only socially constructed, but the label defines the exhibited behaviors, over time coming to represent ideologies. For the women in this study, there is perhaps some comfort in using the term mothering, as it allows them to express the asymmetrical power balance they are accustomed to enacting with their mothers (Buhl, 2008).

The examples described in this sub-theme illustrate the lack of choices daughters have when employing language to describe their role as an adult daughter, left only with a term that denotes a culturally significant behavior. The mother role is well understood in structural and cultural systems. However, upon deeper exploration, daughters, such as Celeste, indicated that they do not perform mothering for their mothers, but use of this common term is an easy trap to fall into. Examples like these illustrate the societal value of daughtering remains limited as long as women must use ineffectual terms.

Care(taking/giving)

Another trope used by daughters for describing the role they take with their mother is the noun "caretaker" and the verb "caring." These terms area also quite broad, but often in scholarly literature, caretaking refers to an aging or ill parent (Shrier, Tompsett, & Shrier, 2004), not to one that is on relatively equal footing.

Taya is the eldest and has two brothers, including one still in college. She lives the closest in proximity to her mom out of all three siblings. Taya said her relationship with

her mother is “okay” and describes her job as managing her mom, and that this a gift for the whole family.

> Oh yeah. I am the one that she calls if she needs anything. I am her caretaker type person and she is a helicopter parent to the two younger ones. My other brother lives in LA. And I tell [my brothers] all the time, “I am your buffer. She is crazy and I am your buffer. Don’t make me angry because then I’ll stop taking her crazy calls and there will be no buffer. You’ll live the life I live with mom.” [My mom and I] are so close in age. I think she is more competitive than a ‘mom,’ if that makes sense, so I think every once in a while she transitions and tries to think, “Okay, I am your mom and I love you.” But not most of the time.

Taya indicated throughout the interview that she spends quite a bit of time with her mother, though she does not always enjoy their interactions. That said, Taya want to stress to her children that she values her mother and family time by hosting a weekly dinner and television-viewing date for everyone to come together. Taya expressed competing feelings from time spent with her mother. She likes to have the family together and she appreciates her mother’s approval. Taya used the word caretaker to describe this role, but she is not in charge of her mother’s daily physical needs as this word would suggest. What Taya is describing is daughtering, a complex nest of contradictions inherent to the mother-daughter relationship.

Valerie, a 25 year old daughter, described her relationship with her mother as a very good with a strong connection. To describe this, she also spoke of her siblings as Taya did. However, Valerie used this terminology to contrast *her* relationship with their mother to that of *her sisters* and their mother. When her mom visits from out-of-state, she chooses to stay with Valerie instead of the others.

> She just generally feels better. Not to say that...My sisters aren't bad people. They're just different. And so she doesn't have to feel stressed or pressure to perform or take care of me or anything like that. I try to make it so it's the other way around. So, and I think there's a lot of reasons that turned out to be the way that it is.

Valerie describes that she not only removes responsibility from her mother having to mother her, but chooses to perform these acts herself. This is assessed by Valerie according to how well her mother sleeps, the fact that she smokes less, and how her mother behaves differently with her than with her sisters. What Valerie is describing is daughtering her mother.

Celeste, a 29 year old daughter, also uses the word *care* to describe her role with her mother. She said it is her duty to care for her mom:

> Well [I] care for her because I know that's the biggest thing for her is she feels that she is different and a lot of people don't understand her so as her daughter I should be more understanding of her and care for her so I just want to make sure she stays healthy as best as she can and she stays alive.

To follow up on this question, I asked Celeste if she fills her mother's medications or manages her healthcare, but she told me that she does not do those things, meaning she is not performing instrumental caretaking responsibilities for her mother at this time. Celeste said she is not her nurse and does not do as much as her father does to help her mom, but she keeps an eye on her mother's health and asks after it occasionally. I wanted to know more about what *care* means if she's not directly instrumental in her mother's healthcare needs, so I asked, "What is it that you do that is caring?" Celeste replied,

> Well like with her work, she's not as successful because her personality clashes with a lot of people. So I am that friend who can listen to her, and at the same time her daughter. So I advise her, "Okay as a friend this is what you should do but as your daughter let me go fight your battle," kind of thing. So in that respect it's spoiling her, taking her out, making sure she is okay, talking to her.

I asked Celeste to elaborate on what kind of battles she fights for her mom and she said she fights family battles with her mom's many siblings. Celeste indicated she cares for her mom, spoils her, watches over her healthcare, listens to her, advises her, and fights her battles. This depiction of extensive oversight is juxtaposed against the final description

Celeste later stated: “She is a very independent woman.” The reason these descriptions of items Celeste oversees and Celeste’s assessment of her mother as very independent only appear to contrast due to the missing conception of what it means to daughter.

The caretaking behaviors described by daughters appear to be emotional more than instrumental. In daughter-mother relations, what we also see are clear power differentials where daughters are engaging in a complex dance of when and how to guide interactions within their families. As the interviews and literature suggest, *caretaking*, is often conflated with many separate aspects of the mother-daughter role experience into one umbrella term. In doing so, this supports the findings from O’Connor (1990) who found that even for daughters who are geographically near their mothers, the amount of caretaking does not influence the value of the mother-daughter relationship or dyadic closeness. This, O’Connor says, points toward an erroneous tie between the mother-daughter relationship and tending activities, which can reinforce patriarchal notions of female behaviors. Rather than using the word caretaking, a more appropriate characterization for this relationship may lie in the identity-enhancing properties (p. 317). Sinedart and Mortelmans (2009) study of caretaking responsibilities also found that the idea of caretaking responsibilities is culturally integrated by both men and women. With discussions of caretaking seen as common to women’s roles, it is no wonder why the participants of this study accessed this terminology to operationalize the behaviors they enact within the adult daughter role.

Review of Theme 1: Role Language in Context

The labels used by daughters to describe their roles indicate not only what is occurring in their dyadic interactions, but also reflect the culture in which daughtering exists. Narratives, according to Bal (1997) are created and presented within cultural

contexts and participants use language and labeling to describe the culture of daughtering, in which members must use homological terms and phrases to describe their experiences. Because daughtering is frequently understood in relation to other roles, and not as an active role portrayal in and of itself, I argue that women are borrowing vocabulary from other roles in order to describe their adult daughter role enactment. Vocabulary like *friends*, *mothering*, and *caretaking* expose and reify the traditional ideology associated with daughters. The prevailing cultural representations of this construct allow only for understanding daughters referentially as either peers or mini versions of their mother.

When describing the adult daughter role performance, the complexities emerged of not only the role, but of the pragmatic considerations of daughters when talking about the role. When I used the term *daughtering*, some participants at first believed I had created the word for the study, verbing a noun for my own uses. Some others, like Clara, when asked to describe daughtering, said that they couldn't or that it was "tough" to do so. Thus interviewees demonstrate that the language that daughters could use to more adequately evaluate their role behaviors is simply missing, from their personal lexicon or that these words reference other roles more explicitly than the adult daughter role. None of the daughters spontaneously used the word *daughtering* during this study before hearing it from me. Though perhaps not a common term amongst my sample, there are scholarly examples of this term. The first scholarly use of *daughtering* I have found dates to 1993 when van Mens-Verhulst, Schreurs, and Woertman first put forth the term as a complementary term for *mothering*:

> Therefore, daughtering implies being involved in an originally dependent relationship involving being cared for by older or more powerful people. However, the concept does not define how this care is received: whether the recipient wallows in it, welcomes it, tries to reciprocate, or resist it (p. xiv).

Van Mens-Verhulst, Schreurs, and Woertman introduced the notion of daughtering in a scholarly work and, later, with the publication of a book of essays (van Mens-Verhulst, 1995), were part of a movement to explore the nature of female subjectivity and the individuality of daughters as participants in the mother-daughter relationship. Their descriptions of daughtering provided an important platform from which to begin examining the complex nature of role performance. However, the responses by participants in this study indicate there is quite a bit more to being a daughter than simply receiving mothering.

Therefore, as I analyzed these responses, I did as Bal (1997) suggests, "to ask, not primarily where the words come from and who speaks them, but what is being proposed for us to believe or see before us, hate, love, admire, argue against, shudder before, or stand in awe of" (p. 224). Through analysis of daughters' narratives, I found that daughters used imprecise or borrowed language to articulate their experiences in the adult daughter role. That left daughters reaching for terminology that describe alternate, but commonly understood, experiences or roles. Those doing daughtering struggle to articulate the architecture of the role and the ways in which daughters behave within the role of adult daughter. However, through their narrative examples, daughters showed that there is an understanding of the adult daughter role beyond the immediate ability to articulate it.

The stories provided by daughters in this study are more than just a list of actions, but instead can retrospectively symbolize their perceptions of the events and construct a world of meaning. Language is not just a reflection of what is occurring in the world, but also creates experience and perception, according to Sherzer (2002). Language functions referentially, to name things, provide information and also "socially, expressively, metacommunicatively, and poetically" (Sherzer, 2002, p. 4). In the examples shown above, daughters must choose the specific words, but also the manner in which they describe daughtering. Though daughters had a lot to say about their mothers, the

nomenclature for this particular role, thus far, inadequately describes the particular characteristics of the daughtering performance, as seen by overlapping and contradictory statements made by participants attempting to express their knowledge, such as when Celeste contradicted her own ideas about mothering. With imprecise and borrowed vocabulary, including nomenclature (formal names) and epithets (descriptive terms) to describe daughtering, participants relied on vocabulary mined from parallel role behaviors or created personal tropes (figurative and metaphorical language) through stories during our interviews.

THEME 2: CONSIDERATION FOR THE ADULT DAUGHTER

The second theme of meaning that emerged from the data was the manner in which daughters consider the role of adult daughter. When I asked participants about their relationships with their mothers, responses were detailed and plentiful. However, when I asked about their role as an adult daughter, responses were slim; daughters said they didn't know or simply trailed off. Participants in this study struggled to clearly describe the role of an adult daughter, suggesting only a thin role-awareness. I explored this area, wanting to know more how daughters conceptualize what is appropriate for daughtering their mothers. Participants' narrative responses indicated that daughters ask themselves if they are performing these roles well and compare their performance to that of others in their social circle and, perhaps even more broadly. I asked daughters to consider, specifically, how they felt about the adult daughter role, to describe the importance of daughtering to her, and if they discuss this role with their mothers. Participants found the idea of discussing this role a bit new and strange. When this occurred, I took the opportunity to explore deeper and discover if perhaps participants do have ideas about this role which they had not previously considered or appraised. The following examples showcase two

categories of responses from participants including those who do not pointedly discuss their role, and those who do.

"It's not something that we talk about explicitly"

Lottie, a 31 year old daughter, has a good relationship with her mother and had many positive things to say about their time together. When I asked her if she works at being a daughter, Lottie replied:

> Sometimes, I guess. I think I tend to focus more on the things that I need to work on and I think I am a pretty good daughter so maybe I don't think about it so much except if I feel like I am being a bad daughter, then I step up.

Lottie's first response is basically an agreement that she does work at being a daughter, but then she reframes her response in terms of how she feels she is performing upon considering the ideas. Finally, Lottie says that she has not thought much about being a daughter unless it is to note when she is doing poorly. I followed this line of questioning by asking how Lottie knows when she's doing well at daughtering and if her mother ever praises or critiques her performance. Lottie replied:

> No. Not really. She compliments me as a mother. I think I feel like a good daughter when I feel like I am making her proud and she lets me know that she is proud of me a lot and I guess that makes me feel like a good daughter. But not really. Not like, 'You're such a good daughter.' She didn't really ever say that.

Lottie told me that she doesn't receive any feedback from her mother about how she well she is daughtering her. Her response seems to reinforce the traditional notions of daughter as a recipient of mothering, waiting for her mother's approval and praise. Moments later Lottie added, "I guess we never really use mother-daughter language, [but] my sister and I do!" Lottie said that she is not only complimented on her Mothering abilities, by her mother, but she also discussed her performance sistering her sibling. Though she is quite

close with her mom and spends time with her every week, Lottie does not use this same referential role language to assess her daughtering.

Another example came from Celeste, a 29 year old daughter. I asked her if she and her mother ever discuss how well she is doing her job as a daughter to her mother.

> No, we don't really bring that subject up. It depends like a certain day let's say like her birthday and I spoil her or something. To her, spoiling is buying her the new thing that she wants or the new stuff she wants. I usually get, 'Well, thank you. I love you. I know you don't have to, but I love you.' That's as much as I get for acknowledgement. It's not like, 'Oh well you know, you are such a great daughter.'

Celeste's response shows that she understands the idea of daughtering and the question being asked, but they do not discuss or appraise Celeste's daughtering behavior. The idea of discussing the daughtering role was alien to most participants. For instance, when asked if she and her mom discuss her adult daughter role, Savannah responded, "I've never felt like I needed a game plan to approach my relationship with my mom. It just has always been." She understood the question about role assessment to be akin to receiving a performance evaluation at an office job and found the idea of it unnecessary and perhaps even a bit ridiculous, as if to say, "Who *would* do that?" Not many women are discussing the mother-daughter relationship. Why is it so strange to consider verbal feedback on the mother-daughter role so awkward or useless? The participants in this study portray a group of women who care deeply about the mother-daughter relationship and know how to perform their roles, but have limited ways to discuss it.

In my interview with Tessa, I asked if being a daughter, or daughtering in general, is important to her and she replied with a decisive, "No." Surprised, I questioned further, "Not something you prioritize?" to determine if there were some nuance between the valence of *important* and *not at all important* in her response. Tessa responded, "I think working through the issues is something that I prioritize but as far as being a daughter, no,

it's not something I prioritize at all." This was discussed near the beginning of our interview, but by the end of our time together, she had made a few contradictory statements. Tessa, as previously stated, has a strained relationship with her mother and does not want to be around her mother. However, she described listening to her mother's selfish conversation, visiting her on Mother's Day, and building a relationship for her mother and her child. What may be more accurate than believing Tessa does not find daughtering important is to say that Tessa does not frequently interact with her mother and has a lot of negative emotions surrounding interactions with her mother. Tessa added, "We don't [talk about how well I'm doing] because I think that she would tell me that I am not a good daughter."

In sum, Tessa does not want to hear what her mother thinks about her performance and they do not discuss it, but many things are occurring even when they remain unspoken for quite a time. The incongruous nature of daughtering and disliking her mother simultaneously may present some cognitive dissonance that Tessa chooses to overcome by diminishing the activities she does as a daughter. For Lottie, however, this may simply be a case of embodying a role without labeling the role, which could also be understood as using typification schemes (Berger & Luckmann, 1966) when behaving as a daughter, without a need to label the behaviors. Typification schemes guide and aid in understanding another's actions in their role portrayal. We employ these typification schemes to combat complexity and confusion that can arise when interacting with others. Lottie uses the typification schemes she has learned through a lifetime of social interaction with others to evaluate others' actions and formulate her responses. Because roles are interactive, she can act within the role of an adult daughter, having learned this role portrayal through repeated interaction, without ever having labeled this performance explicitly as a role

portrayal. In Chapter 6, I continue the discussion of how daughters feel they ought to performing daughtering and explore the variety of adult daughter role portrayals.

Separate the Role from the Relationship

While some daughters said that they did not discuss their roles, other participants indicated that they do make a point to discuss their relationship ins and outs with their mothers. Though this relational-talk is part of their mother-daughter dynamic, a discussion of performing one's role was not listed by any participants in this study. Jenny made a clear distinction between discussing the role of daughter and the other ways she and her mother discuss their interactions. I asked Jenny if daughtering is important to her and she said:

> I don't know... Yeah. I would miss it terribly if it wasn't there but it's not something I actively work at… Our discussions are more around, I wouldn't say role, but they are definitely about boundaries. And we do discuss expectations of one another which I suppose could be translated into roles. And there are compliments occasionally but it's not a formal discussion on, 'You know, you are doing a great job of my expectation of you as a daughter.'

Jenny was working through her meaning-making about the daughter role as we talked over these ideas during the interview process. As discussed in the previous theme, she uses the terms *boundaries* and *expectations* to begin to formulate a description of her adult daughter role. What Jenny is describing is a tool missing in the adult daughter role that is present in other roles: A critical assessment of role performance which allows role partners to improve role behaviors within a relationship. However, Jenny does say that she and her mother discuss the ins and outs of their relationship. This talk does not address Jenny's role, but other factors of the relationship instead. What Jenny's interview demonstrates, is that the utility of her role as a daughter. In part, her interview testifies to Callero's (1994) argument that roles not be considered like putting on front and playing a part (Goffman,

1959), but from a resource perspective. This means that roles are tools one uses to negotiate interactions. Considering roles from this perspective, it is perhaps easier to understand why participants did not have a strong awareness of their adult daughter role; the examples from this theme show that daughters' revealed that they may use the role to actively negotiate encounters with their mothers. Consequently, Callero says that with this perspective, the concern shifts from attempting to understand how a role may prescribe actions to the outcomes gained by using a role to navigate within a relationship. "The important but subtle implication of this shift in focus is that roles now become a vehicle for agency" (Callero, 1994, p. 230). A daughter's active participation when portraying the adult daughter role has been largely ignored in scholarly works, but emerged as a key point from the data in this study.

Review of Theme 2: Reflecting Upon a Daughter's Role

What I have shown thus far, is that interviews showed that daughters did not focus explicitly on this role, but when asked to consider aspects of being an adult daughter, they were able to discuss it. In doing so, I suggest that adult mother-daughter relations are difficult to discuss because the relationship has already undergone decades of change and talk. Due to these many changes, daughters tended to focus on specific dyadic instances rather than an overall role portrayal. One theory that supports this claim is the interactional role theory because it shows that current role behaviors are shaped and molded by experiences that have come before (Turner, 2001), and it is clear to see that the everyday, commonplace relationship interaction between mothers and daughters is a site of rich meaning. From a communication scholarship point of view, this reconfirms that family relationships are built on talk (Galvin, 2006). What emerged from this data analysis is a picture of a social structure without room for talk of daughtering. Noticeably, the

interpersonal experience of daughtering is occurring, but the struggle to name and consider the role of an adult daughter would suggest that is not clearly present in the cognitive awareness of these participants. Though participants struggled with vocabulary tailored to the daughtering experience and their responses suggested a lack of role-awareness, their discussions of daughtering behaviors indicate there is substance to the behaviors a daughter enacts in relation to her mother.

Evidence for this claim can be found in the interview responses, where participants had a burgeoning awareness of daughtering role behaviors they had not previously catalogued and began to realize the value of their performance as daughters. It is challenging to understand what it means to be a daughter without language or opportunity to discuss it. One reason for this, according to Phoenix and Seu is that, "daughter-mother relations are imbued with power relations and sometimes power struggles" (2013, p. 312) over who is providing daughtering/mothering and who consents to receiving it. This, Phoenix and Seu (2013) say, illustrates that active daughtering involves managing to negotiate relationships with their mothers, even when these relationships are not like idealized versions. With this in mind, the following section will explore the nature of daughtering and the labor performed by those who are doing it, whether they realize—and are able to articulate it—or not.

THEME 3: THE LABOR OF DAUGHTERING

The first two themes in this chapter explored the ways that daughters struggle to describe daughtering including the use of borrowed words from other roles and shallow role-awareness. Although talk of daughtering suffered from the use of borrowed language, interviews were full of the many ways daughters performed the labor of being an adult daughter. This perspective shows the active nature of the performance of the adult daughter

role. The following sections give key examples of ways that daughters do daughtering for their mothers, including kin work, emotion work, emotional labor, care labor, mental labor, and love labor,

Daughtering is Avoiding Conflict Intentionally

The work of daughtering has a substantial emotional component. Many participants identified avoiding conflict as a job requirement of an adult daughter. This meant swallowing their objections, hiding their disappointment, or reaching out to their mom to apologize even when they did not feel like they should have to. Debbie is a 44 year old only-child and her mother live in separate states and have a strained relationship. The last time she visited her mother, she had several disagreements and felt the expectations from her mother were overwhelming. After a large-scale disagreement, she told me she walked away and let it go. I asked how she could do that when she was describing such a big emotional upheaval.

> I didn't feel very calm. I was like, 'I am just done.' But I just didn't see it helping saying, 'I need to go home now.' It just would've blown it so sky high. There would be no recovery ever and what does that help? Where does that benefit in the long run? Nothing! So I was just like [Debbie blows out air, puts hands up in the air]. But there are times where I felt like, 'Did I say enough? Should I have said more? Should I have been more pointed about what the problems are?' But I've just always felt like that doesn't help.

Debbie was describing the turmoil she felt inside, but she also made a decision to avoid airing the conflict and potentially worsening the situation. I wanted to know what *would* help ameliorate the situation and Debbie told me that the best she can hope for is peace. She can't seem to get along with her mother, but they both want to see each other and interact. So Debbie gives in when there is conflict and avoids discussing these events with her mother. She turns, instead, to her husband or a friend for relief and discusses her problems with him or her.

Debbie identified "keeping the line of communication open" as her most important daughtering job as a daughter and said that avoiding discussions of conflict is the best way to achieve this. She cannot make the feelings of the conflict stop, but she can prevent further emotional damage by curtailing the interaction, so she allows her mother the last word in an argument. That does not gratify Debbie, but having an open line of communication fulfills her desire to stay connected with her mother.

In another example, Francine, a 35 year old daughter, said she avoids conflict interactions with her mother through respectful talk, flattery, and, if necessary, drawing her mother out from the silent treatment. First, if the topic is not very important, Francine avoids conflict altogether by simply listening to her mother's unsolicited opinions and then ignoring them. However, if Francine finds the topic to be important, like a suggestion about how to manage her marriage, Francine will say something:

> [I'll say] 'I love you, I respect you but this is the way it is.' Sometimes it comes out of me. Sometimes she is just like…Well, she never goes too long without talking to me but I kind of get the silent treatment sometimes.

When Francine disagrees with her mother, even when using respectful disagreement, her mother responds with the silent treatment. Francine finds this very distressing because she usually talks to her mother via phone calls, visits, Facebook, or texting multiple times a day. She describes her mother's behavior this way:

> My mom is not a confrontational type of person. She is passive-aggressive so it's like what do you call it? The cold, the silent treatment. My mom loves the silent treatment. She will not say anything that she will regret because she was doing that very early on in life but she will do that without saying anything and my mom is a talker so if she is not saying anything you are like…You just know.

Francine says the silent treatment is passive-aggressive because she does not always expect it, but is surprised by this behavior in her mom. Francine finds the silent treatment passive-

aggressive because her mother uses it as a way to avoid saying something she will regret, but to Francine it feels like punishment instead. Francine's story illustrates a daughter's Complex decision-making process on the topic of conflict. With each new conflict situation, she remembers the past, assesses the current situation and must decide if she is willing to suffer the likely consequences of pursuing the conflict interaction. This process is a juggling act and requires a daughter to recall, investigate, and decide on a course of action. The amount of effort given to each such situation demonstrates how a daughter labors within her role to preserve the relationship or to protect herself.

Another daughter, Kelsey, also mentioned the silent treatment as punishment, but indicated that her mom uses it purposely to make a point, which is a slight difference from Francine's mother who is supposedly avoiding saying something she will later regret. Kelsey started by saying that her mom avoids confrontation:

> My mom is extremely non-confrontational. She would do almost anything to avoid a confrontation. She's still mad about [when I moved 25 miles away]. Three years later, she still makes remarks. And now, it's like 'Well, we won't get to see the girls as much as we saw [your son] when he was a baby because you guys moved. And it makes me wanna punch her in the face.

Her mother uses passive aggressive language to tell Kelsey what she dislikes, even if it is a past event. I asked Kelsey how she replies to her mother when she is talking this way and Kelsey said, "I just say I'm sorry. I say, 'I know, I'm sorry.'" I was surprised by that response after she made a remark about punching her mother, so I asked if Kelsey ever tells her mom to stop making snide comments or lets her mom know it is annoying. She laughed incredulously and replied, "No. I told you, my mom's extremely non-confrontational. And so, it's like just a little snark, just a little, ya know, just a comment." Earlier she told me it makes her mother uncomfortable for her mother to discuss conflict, therefore Kelsey avoids conflict in order to satisfy her mother's wishes. Kelsey told me:

> It would be uncomfortable for her, which would make it uncomfortable for me. And then she probably would try to not talk to me for a couple of days and I would have to call her and say 'Mom, I'm sorry that I said anything.'

Kelsey avoids conflict both for her mother's welfare, but also for her own. Through our discussion Kelsey identified that this strategy makes her mom happy, but it also protects herself.

> I would never say 'Mom, I don't want to hear it.' Because I would never say that to my mom. Ever. I would listen to her, umm, I would listen to her tell me things I don't wanna hear all day long, and never tell her. It will hurt her, and then she will do the silent treatment thing, which hurts me. And she is never the one who admits she is wrong, or anything like that. I have to call her and call her and call her until she will finally answer and then I have to say I'm sorry…Anytime something has come up over the years, that's the way it's been handled. My experience is that she will not call me, or not take my phone calls, until she gets to the point that she's ready or I've harassed her enough that she will do it. Ya know…Most people, if I'm upset about something, I do not hide it. That is not a quality that I possess, with anyone but my mom.

Kelsey describes enacting behaviors that she reserves only for her mother. Debbie, Francine, and Kelsey are discussing behaviors that require personal fortitude to carry-out. It is not pleasant to disregard their own emotions, but there is a benefit to it: Maintaining a connection with their mom. The benefit of keeping close to mom is what makes this a unique daughtering behavior. These women see avoiding conflict as a job requirement, as it may be for many daughters whether in a strained relationship or otherwise.

Taken together, these interviewee responses suggests that daughters actively engage in conflict management strategies. As Morgan and Hummert (2006) argue, control strategies in mother-daughter dyads transition as the women continue through various life stages. They found that the indirect control strategy was evaluated most positively by all study participants. For instance, they found that "an indirect control message would be more collaborative in nature, affirming the competence of the parent, and perhaps encouraging joint action by parent and child as a means to solve the problem" (Morgan &

Hummert, 2006, p. 51). Creating messages that affirm and respect one's parent while also diffusing conflict situations require effort to construct and employ.

Conflict management like the examples from Debbie, Francine, and Kelsey, above, requires emotional work on the part of the adult daughter. Daughters understand that there are requirements for emotional conventions associated with the adult daughter role, including *emotion work* and *emotional labor*. Hochschild (1979) first described emotion work, saying that "it is the act of trying to change, in degree or quality, an emotion or feeling" (p. 561). This work is done when a daughter feels a pinch between what she is feeling and what she "should" be feeling. She knows what she "should" feel in a situation based on, often latent, socially shared rules appropriate for a role and situation (Hochschild, 1979). Emotional labor, on the other hand, is the public face one puts on emotion work, either because she chooses to or because it is a requirement of a position, such as in employment scenarios. Emotion labor is a visible display complying with the requirements of a given position. For daughters, emotional labor is the "deep acting" of playing the part of a good daughter based upon the social requirements she understands that accompany this role. For Hochschild, emotional labor refers primarily to:

> Conventions of feeling (i.e., what one is supposed to feel) are used in social exchange between individuals. Individuals operate their exchanges according to a prior sense of what is owed and owing. Individuals see themselves as being owed and as owing gestures of emotion work, and they exchange such gestures. People bond, in the emotive sense, either by fulfilling the emotive requirements situations call forth…or by holding just these requirements to one side. (Hochschild, 1979, p. 572)

As a daughter decides which conflict management strategy to employ and constructs her messages, she is doing emotional labor, as part of her role as an adult daughter. The following sections show other forms of labor associated with daughtering.

A daughter demands respect for her mom

Above, I provided a quote from Celeste who said that she mediates conflict for her mother; that *as her daughter* she is expected to do this task. Other participants felt the same protective instincts over their mothers also, demanding respect for their mothers in a variety of ways. In one situation, Sabine detailed how she worries that her brother is emotionally draining their mom. Sabine's brother does not have employment and lives with her single mother who is employed. According to Sabine, he does not help with household chores or help with the rental house that needs maintenance in order to continue to provide income for them both. Sabine clearly directed her concern toward her mother being taken advantage of, and not toward her brother's welfare.

> I worry about this and I talk to her about this. That's a big complex that I have. And I get after her and she gets mad at me. I am like, 'You're his ma. You need to say blank and that's it.' Because I ride my brother a lot about it. I say, 'You need to do something. Even if you're pushing grocery carts, like do something! Why can't you do that?'

Sabine is clearly disgusted with her brother's lack of motivation to work or help their mother, but even more so, she is concerned about the impact his behavior has on their mom. She said, "He doesn't even talk to her! He stays in his room and plays video games all day." Because her mother allows him to do this, Sabine has the challenge of standing up *for* her mother *to* her mother. Sabine describes it as "getting after her mother" and "riding her brother" to try to solve this issue of disrespect for her mother.

Another daughter, Jenny, told me a similar story of demanding respect for her mother with a family member.

> As a matter of fact, my youngest niece, bless her heart, has a great, deep fear of disrespecting my mother because when she was four or five maybe, she slammed the door in my mother's face and yelled at her. And it was the first time she'd ever seen me lose my temper and I walked in deep red and shaking and picked her up and took her outside and had a very stern but not yelling conversation with her about how she will never disrespect my mother and that is not something that will

> ever happen again. And scared the bejeebers out of the little girl. To this day she does not want to see me angry but it almost never happens. So my mother is one of the hardest working, most self-sacrificing not in the martyrdom way, but she really did do as much as she possible could for her family and she deserves respect.

In this situation, Jenny was daughtering her mother by correcting the behavior of a child she though acted improperly. Her mom did not compel Jenny to do this in any way, but it is a task that Jenny does on behalf of her mother. These examples show an action provided by daughters for their mothers' benefit, sometimes compelled by mother and at other times not. Here, we see that daughtering does not have to be requested or obligated to be performed. In these examples, the daughters demonstrate the ways they do the work of family, also called kin work, helping to maintain the extended family network.

Di Leonardo's (1987) descriptions of kin work, women's labor to maintain cross-household ties, illuminated a category of labor similar to daughtering. She said women are performing many labors for their families that are ignored or undervalued, despite quite a bit of effort on the part of women. This work is not only done within families, but exists within a social structure that sets an expectation for enduring family ties, but fails to provide recognition for those who do the work. Di Leonardo (1987) goes on to say that these actions qualify as "work" because it takes time, intention and skill. However, as this work is done mainly by women, kin work is unfairly diminished in value.

> We tend to think of human social and kin networks as the epiphenomena of production and reproduction: the social traces created by our material lives. Or, in the neoclassical tradition, we see them as part of leisure activities, outside an economic purview except insofar as they involve consumption behavior. But the creation and maintenance of kin and quasi-kin networks in advanced industrial societies is work; and, moreover, it is largely women's work (Di Leonardo, 1987, p 443).

This work is not limited to one ethnic or racial group nor any social class, but it must be noted that "the form and functions of contact, however, vary according to economic

resources" (p. 448). Daughters were able to reflect upon the many ways they daughter their mothers when I urged them to do so. The following theme further explores the mental work daughters do when considering their mother's future and planning for her potential care needs.

A daughter does the mental work of thinking about her mother's future care

Participants in this study also noted that the responsibilities for daughtering include consideration for future events. This thinking and planning for the future can be characterized as mental reflection or work. Some participants have detailed plans for future scenarios involving their mothers, while others were uncertain how they will act in the future, but have considered many options. From this perspective, it may be noted that thinking about the future is not a one-time event, and future decisions are not only carried-out in the future, but are also a consideration in the present. This mental reflection over her mother's future can be a complex process of weighing pros and cons within the current circumstances.

Janie, a 40 year old daughter who lives in the same town as her mother, was deliberating on the topic of her mother's future during our interview.

> So I am not going to go work my bones off to have enough money to put my mom, set her up good in her old age, but she can live with me and I will wipe her butt or pay somebody to wipe her butt and I will cook for her, which to me is all you could ever hope for.

In her description, Janie reasons that she will not pay for a lavish care facility her mother might need when she's older, but will have her mother live with her and take care of her daily needs. I followed this by asking, "So you plan to have your mom live with you?" and Janie quickly replied, "No! But if I needed to I would. You know what I mean? If we didn't have any other options, I would personally want to hire somebody to be a [nurse]." In this

instance, Janie went from saying she would be willing to take in her mother and assist with her physical needs, but immediately followed repairing her statement, saying she does not want to do these things and even if she did, she would find a nurse to care for her mom. We continued to work through this topic and Janie added, "I don't know. But I understand that sometimes it's not as possible or probable to do what you feel like you want to do which is to take care of your people…..And the reality of the situation [may be] insurmountable." The mental effort of weighing the options and considering what is best for one's mother and oneself were tasks described by participants. Interactional role theory would suggest that these efforts, big and small, over time become clusters of behaviors that inform a daughter's role performance. From individual instances of daughtering, such as avoiding conflict, eliciting respectful behaviors, or mentally preparing for her mother's future, these clusters of behaviors begin to show a pattern. This pattern becomes understood as the expectations for a role performance. The example from Janie, above, also shows how she crystallizes her own expectations while sharing her ideas, a reflexive activity that allows her to continue to construct the role of an adult daughter as she evaluates the response of her conversational partner.

While some daughters may be wary of future caring burdens, for other daughters, like Lottie, thinking about caring for her mother in her elder years is kind of a badge of honor.

> As she grows older, I think our relationship- I will become more of a caretaker I know and she's been such an excellent caretaker. I have a good example of that. I feel like I am getting little opportunities to do that. When her dog died, being there for her sort of like my mom just always being there for me. I'll have more opportunities I guess to repay that. I think I kind of look forward to that because I feel like my mom has done so much to me. I look forward to watching her grow old and not be able to do things for herself. I look forward to having the opportunity to repay all the things that she has done for me back to her.

Her responses indicate that Lottie has previously considered these ideas and settled on a plan for her mother's future care. Lottie treasures her time with her mother now, as they spend a lot of quality time together, but is both sad and optimistic about providing her elder-care.

> I know it's one of those inevitable things and I know at some point in my life I am going to have to start changing my thinking towards that but my mom is such a big part of my life, I don't know that I know who I am without her.

Though Lottie stated earlier that she does not think about the adult daughter role or use daughtering language with her mother, she has actually thought about her future responsibilities and potential calamity. Examples like these demonstrate the emotional and mental love labor of considering future responsibilities that daughters may experience toward their mothers. This behavior does not have to be done with one's mother or even when she is around, but takes up the time and attention of many daughters. Additionally, these considerations can cause quite a bit of anguish as a daughter wrestles with the right thing to do or imagines the sadness of a future time when things will be different between them. This daughtering behavior is an example of mental and emotional activity that requires the time and attention of an adult daughter.

Daughtering requires effort, even if it is a positive and enjoyable experience. Aside from kin work, other family work includes love labor, a subset of care labor. Love labor, according to Lynch (2007), is a form of care labor that brings about the realization of love, not just the declaration of it. "Love labouring is affectively-driven and involves at different times and to different degrees, emotional work, mental work, cognitive skills, and physical work" (p. 550). I observed that Lottie was affectively driven when describing her mother's future care and her role in those decisions. Love labor is that which we provide to our primary care relations, those with which we have a mutuality, inherited understanding,

dependency or deep respect. It is not exclusively performed with our biological relations, but the mother-daughter relationship is a likely dyad for this type of labor. Lynch distinguishes between love labor, secondary care labor, and solidarity work when describing forms of care labor.

> [Love labor] is undertaken through affection, commitment, attentiveness and the material investment of time, energy and resources. It is visible in its purest form in relations of obligation that are inherited or derived from the deep dependencies that are integral to our existence as relational beings (Lynch, 2007, p. 557)

During my interview with Celeste, she described love labor with her mother in this way, "You have to care but I care as well because I am her daughter."

One distinguishing feature of love labor is a set of orientations and perspectives that orient someone to her caring tasks. Another way to look at love labor orientation is to consider it as an aspect of role management, learned and organized over time, then used to guide behavior. James (1989) says that emotional labor varies across cultures and situations.

> The management of emotion is learned since all humans experience emotions, though the forms in which they are expressed vary within any single culture and inter-culturally. Historical, political, social and material influences on the expression of emotion have far reaching consequences so current forms of emotional labour have complex historical and cultural antecedents (James, 1989, p. 15).

This love labor may also be driven by obligation. One interviewee, Valerie seemed to be particularly driven by obligation to her mother, especially because her affective concern for her mother was low. Obligation is a motivating force for daughters to interact with their mothers (Rossi & Rossi, 1990). While mental work (Di Leonardo, 1987), like thinking about a mother's future care, may be motivated by obligation, or for multiple goals, it is valuable to consider it as a form of labor a daughter enacts for her mother. The following

theme describes how daughters can act, within their role performance, to prompt mothering behaviors from their mothers.

A Daughter Elicits Mothering

Daughters enact many behaviors for the benefit of their mothers, as described in the previous sections. Close analysis of the data also revealed that elicit support from their mothers for the benefit of themselves or their children. This daughtering behavior can best be understood as the request for and the reception of *mothering.* This daughtering behavior stimulates action on the part of the mother. Once the mother responds to this request and begins mothering actions, the daughter receives her attentions and this interaction is what is traditionally considered to be daughtering: receiving a mother's ministrations. While mothers may, of course, decide to mother their daughters without any prompting, this theme describes the times when daughters seek out their mothers and activate a mother's role performance. Therefore, the examples in this theme focus on daughtering as a solicitation of mothering behaviors. A daughter alerts her mother that she is seeking her attention and mothering behaviors ensue. Adult daughters may use a variety of techniques to elicit mothering. Lottie described it this way:

> I was thinking about this last night and I kind of feel bad about it because I realize now I am an adult maybe I shouldn't call my mom at 3 in the morning when I am throwing up and I don't know what to do. But now I have my own family, it's like 3 a.m. and I was really sick. I ended up going to the hospital but I called my mom and I was like, "Mom. I don't feel good and I don't know what to do." She is like, "It's okay. It's okay." Here am I having my own child and [I still need her to mother me.] Our differences are small in comparison to the big… I mean we love each other very much. My mom is always there for me. I call her for advice on just about everything. I think I seek her approval on things. I am not saying that makes or breaks my decision that I am going to make but I want to know what she thinks when I am like, I call her every night after I leave gym class and I am like, "Mom, I got to teach such and such song tonight." And it was like I feel like I did. Last night I taught two songs and I was like trying not to freak out. But I was really excited and I don't know, I guess I am a little kid and there goes my mom.

> My mom has always never ending energy for her children and grandchildren. She is always there. Whatever you need, "Mom I got a flat." "I'll be there in an hour." Anything! She is pretty amazing.

In this case, Lottie listed a variety of things that her mother will do for her, some triggered explicitly and others implicitly. When Lottie calls her mother sick in the middle of the night and asks her what to do, she is overtly asking for her mother to give advice and/or soothe her. In other instances Lottie triggers mothering tacitly, such as when she calls to discuss a new song she taught in a class, which leaves the door open for her mother to praise and congratulate her. This daughtering behavior is demonstrated by seeking something from her mother.

Several participants described requesting childcare from their moms, such as Celeste whose mom watches her son while she works. For her, this arrangement benefits Celeste, but is also an expected event, because of their cultural background as a Mexican-American. In this case, daughtering and childcare are intertwined as a need of Celeste's met by her mother and also as an expectation met by Celeste as a daughter that she allow her mother to give the childcare.

Meryl also solicits her mother's attention for her kids, but is looking more for an emotional connection rather than instrumental. Meryl has very strong feelings about the amount of attention her mother gives to her niece and nephew versus the amount of time give to her four children. Before her nephew was born, her mom used to make weekend visits and spend her energy on Meryl's kids. Once the nephew came along, Meryl's mother kept making these trips, but she brought the baby along. This triggered negative emotions with Meryl who recalled an experience when her own grandmother died. A cousin felt like she deserved more of the estate because she was around her grandmother more and was loved more. This stuck with Meryl and created a deep desire for her to receive equal attention from her mother, and this is most obviously manifest in the quality time she

spends with Meryl's children. Discussing future hopes for her mother spending more time with her kids, Meryl said:

> I think it would mean a lot. She would be validating my feelings. Ya know, about how I feel with the kids. In the long run, I just want my kids to have a mentor and somebody they could go to. And I feel like they don't feel that way with her. Because they're not getting the undivided attention I hope for.

Meryl has interwoven daughtering requirements with attention paid to grandparenting duties. She detailed in her interview many conversations and arguments on this topic. This example shows that orchestrating quality time between Meryl's mother and her children is one way that Meryl performs her adult daughter role and elicits attention for her family.

The examples from these interviewees, taken collectively, suggest that the depiction of daughtering provided by van Mens-Verhulst (1995), which has a focus on daughters' responses to mothering, can be supported by these data:

> Women can be said to be daughtering because they are assumed not only to receive care and authority, but also to elicit it when they are in an originally dependent relationship that involves being looked after by more powerful people; people who are perhaps older, wiser, or more qualified. The concept emphasizes that daughters actively organize their safety and freedom but does not define how they do it. Daughters may wallow in the love, welcome it, resist it or try to reciprocate; they may accept the authority, avoid it, withstand it, or try to negotiate (p. 531).

The data analysis shows that daughters actively manage the adult daughter role, including when they seek mothering support. However, in addition to the description provided by van Mens-Verhulst, I found that daughters must be considered not only as receivers of mothering (Walters, 1992), but also as actors who work for the benefit of their mothers as well. These examples demonstrate one function of the daughtering role, which is to not only reciprocate mothering, but activate it. To daughter' one's mother includes actively managing the mothering one receives (van Mens-Verhulst, 1995).

Review of Theme 3: Daughtering Efforts

The work of daughtering includes diverse, and by no means easy, tasks. The physical and mental forms of labor discussed in this theme address a gap in the literature on daughters, who contribute more to a relationship than is typically recognized (Shrier, Tompsett & Shrier, 2004). Daughters may or may not be aware of the work they are performing for their mothers or for themselves. There are several reasons as to why daughters perform these types of labor, whether this be out of obligation, respect, or a personal desire to give back to their mothers. Daughters may labor to appease their own needs. The work of daughtering may be mental, emotional, or instrumental in nature. As Coltrane (2000) suggests, family work that enables relationship functioning "social reproductive labor" and said this "family work is just as important to the maintenance of society as the productive work that occurs in the formal market economy" (p. 1209). Social reproductive labor is described as "routine activities that feed, clothe, shelter, and care for both children and adults" (Coltrane, 2000, p. 1209). In this study, all participants indicated some kind of labor of daughtering.

Labors of daughtering include kin work, emotion work, emotional labor, care labor, mental labor, and love labor, all of which were shown in the examples above. Daughtering is more than, but inclusive of, these labors. The expression of daughtering includes feelings of obligation, like those expressed by Janie, who described her thoughts on her mother's future care. Additionally, daughtering allows for feelings of satisfaction, like Lottie's descriptions of her relationship with her mother. Results from this study showed that adult daughters are doing emotional labor with their mothers and with the public face they put on for the world. Caroline, a 30 year old daughter, spoke of the difficulty she has meeting her mother's needs. Though she does not want to talk to her mom, she also does not want to seem like a terrible daughter, so she picks up the phone even if she does not feel like it.

She even tries to put a brave face for her husband, and I believe, for me, in the context of our interview. The lack of attention to the role of adult daughter may signal a poor societal valuation for the role, and a devaluing of the effort expended enacting this role. Or perhaps the adult daughter role has yet to be clearly outlined. The following section outlines *daughtering* and discusses the active role of an adult daughter.

DISCUSSION OF DAUGHTERING

The themes presented in this chapter illustrate the ways in which the adult daughter role are identifiable by role players, but have yet to crystallize for daughters' into defining characteristics. Based on the talk of participants in this study and in an effort to contribute to interactional role theory, I propose a description for *daughtering* based upon the responses from this study. As Turner (2001) said, "In attempting from time to time to make aspects of the roles explicit, the actor is creating and modifying roles as well as merely bringing them to light; the process is not only role-taking and role-playing, but role-making" (p. 234). I provide this quote again as a marker of my own understanding that in attempting to clarify aspects of daughtering, I also contribute to a greater social understanding of the role.

Daughtering, in the context of this study, is shown through the many behaviors done by a daughter in relation with her mother to fulfill the social requirements a daughter understands as ascribed or inherent to the role of adult daughter, including the management and avoidance of conflict necessary to maintain a positive—or at least bearable—relationship; protecting herself from possible negative outcomes; considering and managing her mother's emotions (including emotion work and emotional labor); giving respect to her mother and demanding it for her from others; deciding to fulfill or ignore obligations, whether implied or stated; management of closeness or distance within the

relationship with her mother inclusive of decisions to include the mother into the daughter's daily activities; the mental work of thinking about her mother's well-being and future care; carrying out kin work including visits, phone calls, social media communication and assisting in the maintenance of extended family relationships; teaching and training her mother in contemporary ideas and methodologies; and eliciting mothering for herself or her family of creation.

This description illustrates the many ways that daughters perform their roles and portrays the active enactment of the adult daughter role. Daughtering, used as a verb to describe the behaviors enacted by a woman in the adult daughter role, is a key element that we have been missing in descriptions of the adult daughter role and which ties together the various behaviors and labors of this role. The true value of this portrayal will be understood in the future testing and evaluation of it in future studies. Moreover, the fundamental advantage of outlining daughtering is the naming and labeling of the adult daughter role, which disentangles the performance of this role from other gendered roles that have overshadowed its value. Finally, by naming, labeling, and outlining the behaviors associated with this role, this study adds to our overall understanding of the place of an adult daughter within a social system (Galvin, 2006).

The above depiction of daughtering was created using themes presented in this chapter (avoiding conflict and protecting herself, emotional labor, demanding respect, mental work to consider future options, kin work, and eliciting mothering) and those that will be presented in the following chapters (deciding to fulfill or ignore obligations, management of closeness and distance). I added one additional characteristic—teaching and training her mother in contemporary ideas and methodologies—that participants mentioned in a variety of small ways (like Savannah's story of helping her mother with

online health care management tools), although there was insufficient data for a sub-theme devoted to this topic.

The value of the adult daughter role has previously been overshadowed by other roles that are more easily understood as requiring effort and elements of work. Ruddick (1989) describes *mothering* as work, which one must practice to become familiar with or to improve one's performance of it. The performance of mothering is not tied to biological relations, distinct emotional mandates, sexual orientation, or even household arrangement (Ruddick, 1989). Moreover, construing mothering as work undermines the idea that this role behavior is natural or that all mothers possess this quality.

Daughtering, in a parallel consideration to mothering, can be construed similarly. Most importantly, a consideration of the effort a woman undertakes to daughter her mother places the emphasis on what she does for mother, not only how she feels about her mother. Like Nelson (2006), analysis of daughter's interviews for this study revealed that doing daughtering keeps adult daughters connected to their mothers. Nelson classifies 'doing family' as actively fostering the connections through which family is created and rehearsed. Additionally, doing family means creating attachments, building boundaries, and defining limits. In sum, daughtering takes effort and will look differently from one role player to another as fits their unique circumstances, but the payoff is in the maintenance of family ties.

Daughtering is performed solely by women, and this may be the reason why much of the work of daughtering is undervalued in regards to respect and social capital. Discussions with daughters in this study suggest that daughters learn the behaviors associated with daughtering over a lifetime through models, like their mothers and peers, but not through discussion of the role explicitly. Daughtering is not being talked about; not between mothers and daughters and not as a society, generally.

Daughtering is gender based behavior, and the description I offer is also restricted to a specific lifespan, that of the adult daughter with a healthy, living, mother also in mid-life. I suggest that while there are surely differences in daughtering that are class-based, its existence is not constrained to any particular category of women, but is ubiquitous in its practice whether daughters and their mothers are satisfied or dissatisfied, close or distant, living near or far. The daughtering lens reveals a tangle of self-interest and service when acting within the role of daughter toward one's mother, but also embodies the complex notions of love and family interacting over a lifetime. The following chapters will explore how daughters come to understand the role of adult daughter and react within its confines.

Whether it be care labor, love labor, mental labor, kin work, or other kinds of work, daughtering takes effort and intention. Investigating through this lens of daughtering casts a new light on the nature of the role of adult daughter (and perhaps, future studies may find, on other family roles as well). Daughtering takes place on an individual, family, and societal level. According to Ruddick, during an interview in 2009, "All reason arises from practices, informs, tests and is tested by practices. Practices are socially organized activities identified by their constitutive aims" (O'Reilly & Ruddick, 2009, p. 17). When one emphasizes individualized relationships between daughters and their mothers, it may distract from what a daughter understands to be a *social* requirement for role. It is the work of daughters, not only within dyadic relations with her mother, but within a social system of role expectations that fulfills our cultural expectations of satisfactory daughtering. Considering daughtering in this light, it is clear that thoughts, or reasoning, on daughtering arises from our practice of it, which is situated within a society, family, and dyad. Whether or not they realize it, daughters are negotiating the substance of their roles and the salience of this work to their lives on a consistent basis.

REVIEW OF CHAPTER 4 THEMES

Daughtering, as outlined above, offers a new way for researchers to conceptualize the value that daughters bring to the mother-daughter relationship. Outlining and describing adult daughter role behaviors may enhance a society's understanding of the role and, in time, increase awareness of the role and its value in families and in our social structure. Participants in this study described observations on the adult daughter role when urged to consider the role in ways they had not previously considered. Although it took time for the awareness of the role behaviors to emerge, daughters were able to describe the nature of everyday daughtering with their mothers. Unlike other roles, such as Mother, Wife, or Friend, acknowledgement of the adult daughter role as more than a personal relationship with one's mother—as a role portrayal—emerged slowly as participants were asked to consider aspects of this role. Responses from the participants in this study indicate that the role of adult daughter is backgrounded in their consciousness to such a degree that it often goes unnoticed, uncategorized, and even undervalued as a role. Finding this, as I moved through the interviews I pressed for deeper understanding of these topics.

The first theme in this chapter discussed how daughters use borrowed language for describing the daughter role, resulting in the use of shorthand or parallel terminology for role descriptors. This is not a problem if the terminology adequately applies, but daughters' descriptions revealed that the typical wording is inadequate and sometimes even contradictory. One reason for this may be the many connotations given to language describing women. Language is nestled within a patriarchal system that favors men and derogates women (Schulz, 1975). The words most likely to escape this trap are related to motherhood. But it is time to stop equating daughterhood with womanhood and then womanhood with motherhood, instead realizing there is a mutuality and subjectivity to both daughter and mother (van Mens-Verhulst, 1995). By evaluating language, we can

understand what society values, because, "A rich vocabulary on a given subject reveals an area of concern of the society whose language is being studied" (Schulz, 1975, p. 64).

The second theme presented data demonstrating that daughters did not easily discuss their adult daughter's role explicitly. Analysis indicated that daughters are able to talk about their roles when urged to do so, but do not separate role awareness from the personalized relationships they share with their mothers. Therefore, the negotiation of role behaviors and role awareness must be assessed in other ways. As Phoenix and Seu's (2013) recent study demonstrates, daughters are aware that they have a choice to perform daughtering behaviors for their mothers, thus enacting the adult daughter role and assuming the work it entails, or choosing not to. In sum, they say that daughters are active role performers. Because their population under study gained a mother later in life, the distinction for how Phoenix and Seu (2013) constituted daughtering is marked, but it is not at odds with the participants in my study.

Finally, the third theme from this chapter demonstrated that although there are struggles to express the knowledge they have about the adult daughter role, daughters described that they are doing the labor of daughtering in everyday situations with their mothers. When linking the ideas of limited vocabulary along with a flimsy notion of one's role, a depiction emerges of a role that has yet to be appraised by those performing it. There are many roles that women perform which do receive attention and consideration, such as Wife, Friend, Sister, and of course, Mother. Daughters in this study said that they frequently think about their personal relationships with their mothers and how well this relationship is faring, but the evaluation of the role falls short of considering daughtering in terms of a role. Like Hampton, (1997) and Korolczuk (2010) I found that, when I asked participants about the ways they interacted with their mothers, they showed role knowledge, even if notions of daughtering were not yet fully formed. In sum, daughters

have a reflexive understanding of daughtering because they discuss actions they perform and responsibilities related to this role. However, they do not have a clear conception of it and have not claimed it as work.

EXCEPTIONS TO THEMATIC ANALYSIS

Several participants contributed to some of the themes, but did not fit within all six themes described in chapters 4-6. The handful who did not fit within all of the themes are discussed in this section. All participants not noted here gave responses that fit within all six themes. These responses, therefore, are outlier responses, but not outlier participants. It should be noted that the daughters in this study did not all describe pleasant and enjoyable relationships with their mothers. Several participants remarked on strained relationships with their mothers. This fact alone, however, did not exclude them from discussing the same themes of meaning as daughters with pleasant relationships. A matrix for the many ways one can daughter her mother is provided in Chapter 6. Tessa was the participant who most clearly articulated a disconnection with her mother, and I have included her responses throughout this chapter for that reason, to show that relationship satisfaction does not have to impact daughtering. Tessa told me that she will communicate with her mother approximately every 4-6 weeks which is approximately every sixth time her mom reaches out. Tessa said the only reason for communicating with her mother at all is because she desires a relationship between her mother and her daughter, age 7. If she did not have a daughter, Tessa said, "I would be cut off until she was probably like really close to death and then I would feel like I owe that to her since I am the only child and she is single." Despite Tessa's stories full of conflict and discord, she demonstrated all three themes of meaning-making as other daughter participants.

Not all participants exhibited all three themes. There are many daughters who have strained relationships with their mothers and/or communicate rarely with their mothers; some explicitly reject the role of daughter. This rejection of the role may be conceived of evidence that there is an adult daughter role. Though participants rejected the role, these outliers still exhibited one or more of these themes, contributing to the certainty that these themes are distinct observations on the nature of daughtering. For example, Ellie is a 28 year old daughter who frequently stated during our interview that her relationship with her mother is atypical from others. She gave 3/two specific reasons for this, being White and a lesbian:

> I call it 'White People Syndrome' where White families don't talk about deep issues with each other. My mom's side of the family is a little WASPy--they're well-off and White Anglo-Saxon Protestant—and so we just don't talk about real serious issues, we just kind of glaze over them, so that aspect of being a daughter to my mom is a little bit lacking for me. I wish that I could go to her with more serious issues now we could actually talk about things. And I wish that we were a little bit closer but I think some of that stems from… when I came out was really rough and we didn't talk for a long time and then it was slow going to get her kind of back into my life and for the longest time it was like a 'don't-ask, don't-tell' thing so I just got really used to leaving out huge chunks of my life from her.

Ellie goes on to say throughout the interview how she is probably a poor example to study because she "is not the norm" and later told me she agreed to participate in my study so that I could get a contrasting daughter perspective. When asked about performing the daughtering role or discussing the role, her responses rejected this discussion by indicating that she could not have the answer because of the outlier-nature of her relationship with her mother, making it clear she does think explicitly about her role as a daughter. Because of this, Ellie's responses do not fit within theme 2: Daughtering is a role not considered or thought of.

However, I observed that many of Ellie's reflections on daughtering did indeed fit within Theme 1: Borrowed Vocabulary, and Theme 3: The Labor of Daughtering—despite her conviction that she was surely an outsider for daughtering behaviors. When describing the personal relationship with her mother, which Ellie's responses made clear she has thought about, she told me that she does not discuss "anything too personal or serious" with her mother. Later when discussing future grandchildren, Ellie said, "Well this is again me i[nferring] because my mom and I don't really talk about anything so I am i[nferring] that she was." Related to theme 1, Ellie does not have the language to describe her role as a daughter, so she falls back on shorthand descriptions such as "don't talk about anything" while the rest of her responses clearly show she communicates quite a bit with her mother.

For example, and these responses relate to theme 3, Ellie performs many labors of daughtering (including communication): Ellie called her mom immediately after getting engaged and solicited money from her mother for the wedding. And even though her mother disapproved for religious reasons, her mom did these things that Ellie asked for and attended the wedding. Ellie also indicated that she thinks about, and plans to, care for her mother when she's older. And she stated expectations for communicating, such as visits for holidays, monthly phone calls, and replying to texts which Ellie fulfills as a duty for her mother.

Though Ellie was not a fit for all three themes of meaning and rejected the idea of daughtering her mother, instead referring to her role as more figurative, her stories told me otherwise. Though there is a lot of emotional pain in the relationship for Ellie, she still cares deeply for her mother and works on the relationship to the extent that she's willing to deal with the emotional hurdles—no small task when both parties cannot (or will not) discuss the issues head-on.

CONCLUSION OF CHAPTER 4

This chapter explored a topic and started a conversation about the inadequately discussed nature of the role of daughtering in the commonplace, everyday interactions between mothers and daughters. The themes in this chapter addressed the stated research objectives of discovering what adult daughters discuss on the subject of their roles, and revealing meaning that emerges from daughters' stories of everyday communication with their mothers. Everyday communication among adult daughters is undoubtedly a crucial site for meaning and knowledge about the role of the adult daughter in relation to her mother.

Daughters create and modify their personal social environment with their mothers through commonplace, perhaps even banal, interactions. These interactions are the building blocks that not only create, but also reflect, a larger social structure (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). I found rich meaning within the responses of participants when examining "the subtleties of everyday social phenomena in a meaningful way" (Krauss, 2005, p. 766). According to Becker (1996), the quotidian "everyday understandings" refer not to an objective analysis of a situation—like a daughter might perform when her mother brings home a new boyfriend and she measures her words and later evaluates them—"but to the deep epistemological beliefs that undergird all such shared ideas, the meta-analyses and ontologies we are not ordinarily aware of that make social life possible" (p. 7). Even when unable to name or describe actions and interactions, daughters exhibited complex ideas about the nature of their daughtering role. As a complement to the previous definition, Becker offers a more "workaday interpretation" of the "everyday world as the world people actually act in every day, the ordinary world in which the things we are interested in understanding actually go on" (1996, p. 7). And when, in pursuit of clarity on these topics, a researcher gathers the private thoughts of participants during confidential interviews, it

must be said that this private thought does not necessarily dictate their actions in the relevant situations. Therefore, as a social scientist who contributed to, and even pressed for, the meaning-making of daughters in this study, I examined the themes of meaning with a careful understanding that my observations contribute to an expanding social world. Taken collectively, my analysis suggests that during participant interviews there emerged a broader understanding of the nature of communicating about doing daughtering.

There is evidence that daughters practice daughtering behaviors, but the idea of the role was unexplored until they were prompted to call it forth. The narratives of daughters show that while daughtering is something participants showed a reflexive understanding of, they did not have a ready awareness of or ability to describe it. Reflexivity, can be defined as "thoughtful, conscious, self-awareness" and involves a change from detached scrutiny of the thing itself—daughtering—and instead involves recognizing that we actively construct knowledge (Finlay, 2002). A discussion of reflexivity is pertinent to this study in three unique and overlapping ways. First, a clear theme from the data collection is that daughters know they are daughtering, but have not labeled it as such. Second, during our interview participants practiced reflexivity and knowledge construction with me as we evaluated and discussed the role of daughters when I pushed for further insight, and I am included in this because I am also an adult daughter mining for understanding on the daughtering role. Third, as a researcher I must reflexively consider my participation in the generation of awareness on the topic of daughtering for more than the study participants, but also through public scrutiny of the ideas I presented here.

Their narratives indicate that these women are all doing a role, not only acting within their personal dyadic relationships of daughter and mother. For daughters, a fitting vocabulary may be a crucial step toward crystalizing their awareness of this work and increasing the value the role of adult daughter. The following chapter will further explore

the ways daughters conceptualize expectations for the practice of daughtering. A discussion of how daughters select the best course of action for daughtering and the social creation of this role is explored further in Chapter 6.

Chapter 5: Living in the Daughterhood

"Yeah, I think I am a good daughter. I think that if the world had more daughters like me then it would be…, well, what are the expectations for a daughter? That's strange, but I think that I am a good model for a daughter. I try to be." –Clara, age 25

INTRODUCTION

A daughter's understanding of appropriate daughtering role behaviors is influenced by the lifetime of experiences and participation in a complex and variable social system. One objective for this study included exploring any expectations adult daughters recognize for their role as an adult daughter. Daughters and mothers may come to understand their roles, according to Walters (1992), "not only through the exigencies of family life, economic survival, and social policies, but through the systems of representation and cultural production that help give shape and meaning to that relationship" (Walters, 1992). To learn their roles, daughters gain knowledge from those around them, and act on this understanding, molding and shaping their roles as they age. Expectations, therefore, arise from recognition of socially shared behaviors within one's reference group. As shown in the previous chapter, participants exhibited a commitment toward daughtering their mothers, though they did not demonstrate a clear awareness that these behaviors originate from social relationships.

Another objective of this study was to explore how a daughter's conceptions of daughtering and daughterhood relate to how society says a daughter should behave or communicate with her mother. Most participants asserted that they feel a need to perform their adult daughter role. These daughters had a lot to say about what they and other adult daughters should be doing and the manner in which they should treat their mothers. Daughters talked easily and freely about the social system from which they have gained these ideas. I found two themes about the nature of the daughters' role knowledge including

the ways daughters learn about their roles from a social system and evaluate their own role portrayal against others within the system. Although narratives showed that participants did not have a clear concept of their behaviors as role-based, they did discuss many ideas about how an adult daughter 'should' be expected to behave. Normative expectations involve the role behaviors a daughter conceives as ideal when performing the everyday role of adult daughter. Callero (1994) also discussed the behavioral expectations associated with roles, describing them as emanating from a role player's social structure (p. 229). Following these themes, I draw from some relevant literature on social construction to argue that participant responses in this study can be understood as adult daughters enacting the same role alongside one another. I show how this collective competence for the performance of the adult daughter role can be understood as a *daughterhood.*

THEME 4: LEARNED FROM A SOCIAL SYSTEM

Daughters' narratives showed that their knowledge of the adult daughter role is learned within a social system which they have participated in since birth. I asked daughters several questions aimed at discovering how they know what role behaviors are appropriate for an adult daughter. I asked directly what their mothers expect from them, if they are meeting their mothers' expectations and if their mothers explicitly direct their daughtering role behaviors. The first set of responses, below, provides examples from this directed line of questioning. I next asked participants to consider what the world expects from an adult daughter today and if their behavior aligns with these worldly expectations. Participant responses showed that they gather role knowledge from a social system, including sources such as their ethnicity, cultural background, and religious teachings. Narratives showed that daughters learn their adult daughter role from a complex system of meaning embedded in a social system which they experience from childhood onward.

Learned from mothers

To evaluate daughters' sources of expectations for daughtering, I first asked participants what their mother expects from them as daughters. Some participant responses reflected explicit maternal communication about daughtering expectations, while others showed maternal expectations for the adult daughter to be understood implicitly. For the latter group, some participants responded to the line of questioning by refuting that their mothers' had any expectations for their daughters. However, even when daughters answered no, other responses throughout the interview demonstrated that mothers do have expectations, and the daughters do know what they are. In other words, whether maternal communication on adult daughter role expectations is implicit or explicit, participant responses indicated that mothers communicated these expectations to their daughters in a variety of ways. Daughters' narratives showed that they understand maternal role expectations; they recognize when they have either crossed a boundary into inappropriate daughtering or ought to increase their daughtering efforts to satisfy maternal expectations. Though responses varied by participant, relevant to their unique relationships with their mothers, the data showed that all daughters in this sample do know some expectations for daughtering from their mothers.

Explicit maternal expectations for adult daughter role behavior

For some daughters, their mothers' expectations for daughtering are communicated clearly. Caroline, a 30 year old only-child who lives several states away from her widowed mother identified several behaviors her mother expects, especially related to frequency of contact. On average, her mother calls five times per week on the phone and initiates Face Time video chats several times per week. Caroline said she answers "sometimes" and video chats, on average, once per week.

> So I can feel that, ya know, I don't often want to talk with her on the phone, but I do anyway, because I know that (falsetto voice) *it's important*. And I enjoy…hmm…Do I enjoy talking with my mom on the phone? Sometimes I enjoy talking to my mom on the phone, but ummm…, you know, there's a pattern of her calling that sometimes, that can be difficult when I don't want to be as much of a phone talker as she does.

These phone calls are, most often, Caroline's mother reaching out for emotional support. She likes to discuss challenges at work or with friends. Additionally, Caroline said her mother expects her family to regularly visit her and stay in her home. When her mother visited, she also expected to stay in Caroline's home. Though this daughter dyad is unique from other participants because Caroline's father is not alive and she is an only-child, this example of explicit expectations from her mother is similar to those of other respondents who listed emotional support, phone calls, visits, time with grandchildren, making meals, shopping together and a variety of other activities as clear expectations from their mothers.

Other participants were unsure of specific expectations from their mothers when I first asked this question. Shay responded, "I don't know. I do not really know. She just expects me to be her daughter, to be around." But then as the interview progressed, Shay went on to describe things that she knows her mother expects, such as taking care of her when she is elderly. She also said what her mother does *not* expect from Shay, which is friendship. Her mother has spoken of creating clear boundaries for the mother-child relationship. However, Shay also told me of contradictory expectations from her mother that are implicit, because her mother will call seeking emotional support and say negative or things that frustrate her about Shay's father. Then her mother will end these talks by saying, "I shouldn't tell you this." Shay identified these expectations from her mother, but her mother has not explicitly asked Shay to fulfill these expectations in a direct way. In another example of an implicit explanation that contradicted her verbal declaration, Shay's

mother has the expectation that she can call Shay for help, like the time when she was intoxicated and asked Shay to come pick her up.

After things like this happen, Shay's mom will sometimes say to Shay that she regrets asking for Shay's support—emotional or instrumental—but Shay describes the conversation with her mom like this: "'I am here for you'…I mean she doesn't have anybody so she can tell me this. I wouldn't want it all bottled up for her and I support her." This example showcases how some expectations are not just implicit, like Shay's understanding that her mother does want her to do certain things, but also require navigating contradictory statements and actions.

Participants noted instrumental and emotional expectations in their responses. When considering these daughtering expectations as felt obligations, these results confirm the findings of Scharlach (1987) who indicated that middle-aged women feel parental and social obligations as prescribed by societal and personal values (p. 627). Scharlach also labeled obligations daughters feel toward their mothers as "filial responsibility" and indicated that daughters' responses to their mothers are part of a balancing act that adult daughters must practice in order to satisfy their mothers, themselves, and others in their social network. Additionally, the data presented in this theme confirm the work of Rossi and Rossi (1990) who found that daughters showed greater obligation to their mothers and offered them more comfort than to any other kin relation. Considering the work of these scholars, the expectations from their mothers that participants described demonstrate not only felt attachment and understood responsibility between daughters and their mothers, but also the active role of daughters to respond to their mothers' expectations. In contrast, some participants, as the examples below show, described that their mother expects nothing from them.

Implicit maternal communication on adult daughter role expectations

Narratives from some participants showed that, while daughters denied knowing maternal expectations in response to my questioning, analysis of their narratives from throughout the interviews revealed that they recognize maternal expectations for daughtering. When I asked the interview questions about expectations from their mothers, some daughters responded by telling me their mothers expect "nothing" or "not much." In one case, Janie, a 40 year old only child who lives in the same town as her mother and sees her weekly, did not initially identify any maternal expectations. Janie described her relationship with her mother as strained, though later said she thinks very highly of her mom and anyone would be lucky to have her as a mother. When I asked what her mother expects from her as a daughter, Janie said, "I don't know….Not much these days. Not much. She used to make a comment that she was glad I didn't have a washing machine because at least then I come over once a week." Janie, unlike Shay above, did not come to a realization during our interview of things her mother expects of her. However, like Shay, many times throughout the interview she revealed a variety of things her mother expects- some she fulfills and others she chooses not to.

For example, in one instance Janie used the language of expectations when we were discussing a time of conflict several years in the past, saying "I think she still expects that we have this open honest relationship which we've always had." Based on our conversation, I interpreted this to mean that this is Janie's assessment of her mother's expectations for Janie's behavior in their interactions. This example not only shows a daughter's conception of her mother's expectations, but also has embedded within it the choice Janie must make whether or not to satisfy the expectation. My discussion with Janie showed that it is not a single decision, but a complex decision-making process based on the risks (discussing her husband would be more sensitive than discussing her child) and

benefits (making her mom or herself happy). A more in-depth analysis of daughters' choices for daughtering behaviors and enactments is explored in Chapter 6.

While initial responses to my questions about daughter role expectations yielded little response from my interviewees, an examination of the interviews holistically shows that there are perceived expectations for daughters. Descriptions of mothers expecting nothing from daughters were contradicted by other discussion points throughout our interviews. This impression that mothers have no expectations for their daughters reinforces the traditional notion of daughters as receivers of mothers (Walters, 1992) rather than active participants in the mother-daughter relationship. The ideology of passivity which is most commonly associated with the daughter role may explain why some participants stated knowing no expectations from their mothers. While prevailing notions of daughters as passive role players continues to be confined to a narrow understanding, it may be difficult or impossible for some daughters to explore the full range of the daughtering role.

Maternal expectations as a source of role knowledge

This thematic analysis of the data showed that while some daughters can explicitly identify the expectations from their mothers for appropriate daughtering, other daughters were not able to articulate their mothers' expectations. In addition, participants described that some expectations from mothers are communicated explicitly and others implicitly. For example, Kelsey's mother expects that Kelsey will live close to home, and though her mother never stated this expectation, Kelsey learned from her mother's response to a cross-country move that it is indeed an expectation, and dealt with the resultant complications of said move. For participants in this sample, whether they responded that they know the expectations or not, the data showed several ways daughters understand role expectations

from their mothers; though the ways in which they understand these expectations are complex and varied. Participant responses are not always articulated as clearly as Caroline did when she described the phone calls with her mother. Most participants, like Shay, upon discussing it, revealed many things their mothers expect. Though some, like Janie, did not come to acknowledge these expectations during the interview, their stories revealed otherwise.

When narrating their experiences, participants readily described their dyadic relationship, but did not show an understanding of their behavior as part of a parallel enactment which other adult daughters are also doing. Taken collectively, however, participant stories show that adult daughters are doing similar things as other daughters. Though daughters may experience their relationships with their mothers as interpersonal and dyadic, the implication from these data is that a daughters' relationships with their mothers are embedded in a social system. As a daughter participates in a social system all of her life, she practices being a daughter when she sees how her mother daughters her grandmother. She learns from those around her and acts on this knowledge, recreating these behaviors, thereby reifying the social order. As daughters experience instances of daughtering, like those from the sources that participants in this sample identified, the role of adult daughter is constructed, supported, and reified. The implication of this theme a meaning is that daughters all understand there is a manner in which daughters "should" interact with their mothers, not just dyadically, but as role expectations. These notions of how one ought to enact her role are not only derived from one's mother. As we have seen thus far, one source for daughters to learn about their roles is through their mothers, and it is important to consider some of the other sources, such as ethnicity and culture, by which daughters learn the normative expectations of the role. Thus, in the next section, we consider some of these daughtering expectations as they relate to the larger argument that

daughters learn appropriate daughtering behaviors and which contribute to the social construction of knowledge for the adult daughter role.

Learned from Ethnicity and Culture

Daughters in this study showed, through their narratives, that ethnicity and culture are both sources of influence for understanding the adult daughter role expectations. Several participants specifically identified their ethnicity and cultural practices as impacting the expectations for daughtering. In the first subset (n = 7), participants who identified as Mexican-American spoke of ways their cultural influences could be observed in the role they play with their mothers. Celeste, a 29 year old daughter, articulated this distinction quite well. Celeste calls herself *Hispanic* and told me both of her parents were born in Mexico and she is a first-generation Mexican-American. When we discussed what the world expects, she immediately referenced her family and peers who have a similar cultural background, but made a distinction between daughters who are first-generation United States born Mexican-Americans and those whose families have been in the United States for several generations. This, Celeste said, is a key difference in expectations for daughtering, the details of which I described in Chapter 4. Here, I address only how Celeste describes these daughtering behaviors through a cultural lens.

> If they were born from Mexico or they are first generation like myself, yes, [they must fulfill a specific daughter role]. Once they're Americanized, according to my parents, then no, they seem to follow different traditions or their husband's culture I guess.

To gather more specifics, I asked Celeste the differences between herself and some of her "Americanized" friends who are not first-generation or were not raised in the Mexican-American culture.

> I guess they get to tell their moms what to do. I see that they are not as much having to watch the—especially with one friend—they can care less of what

> happens. I have to remind them sometimes, "Well it's your mother, don't you care that this is happening?" and they'll be like, "No, she is fine. She is an adult." So I see a difference in, I guess, the care they give to their mothers and checking on them and watch before them.

So, I asked, Celeste if her cultural background demands that she care, and she told me, "You have to care but I care as well because I am her daughter."[3] Celeste's responses were the most distinct with attributions for behavior explicitly described as coming from a cultural influence, but some participants, like Anna, discussed culture in other ways.

Anna, a 32 year old daughter who lives in the same city as her mother, said the strongest-felt expectation is that she take care of her mom as she ages. This includes not putting her mother in a nursing home, providing funding for home health care if necessary, paying bills (providing the funds and managing the finances), taking her mom to medical appointments, selling her mom's house if she cannot live in it anymore and finding her mother a new place to live. She also said she should take her mother to get groceries, make sure she is eating well, check to be sure her mother has the right medications, noting calls from the doctor: "Anything that comes with everyday living I become responsible for." Though Anna said she will do this in the future, she sounded quite familiar with the routine, so I asked if she is already doing some of these things. Anna responded:

> Yeah. I have been doing that since, I don't know, my whole life. In some way shape or form, I really always been doing that. It really is part of the culture. It's like, as a female, I am primarily responsible for what happens *inside.* Inside the family, inside the household.

Anna said she was groomed for this position for her whole life, always being asked to care for children who are around her extended family and now that she is an adult, she is expected to use those caretaking behaviors for her mom. These expectations, Anna attributed to immersion in cultural expectations, which she gleans from her family and

[3] Quote also used in Chapter 4

community members. This example provides evidence for my argument that role expectations are learned through a complex social system, which Anna calls her 'culture.' Though Anna expressed pride in her ethnicity and strongly identified with her Mexican-American ethnicity, she had very mixed feelings about the impact of culture on daughtering expectations. As she furthered her education, earning a master's degree, and learned more about gender roles and feminism, she was conflicted about the traditional feminine gender role expectations of her family and other community members. Though she sees the treatment of sons and daughters in her Mexican-American family as unequal and unfair, she will not refuse to fulfill the expectations that accompany the adult daughter role in her Mexican-American family. To do so would not only injure her mother, who Anna highly respects and admires, but would also embarrass her mother and other family members. Instead, Anna makes small adjustments to the expectations and incorporates what she calls her 'Americanized' value system by using her income to do some things for her mother as opposed to doing them herself. The changes Anna makes are subtle enough that she still gets the credit for daughtering according to traditional Mexican-American expectations. As she makes only subtle changes, she both reifies the existing social structure while also molding the adult daughter role into something slightly different.

Other daughters also spoke of their conflict with daughtering expectations associated with cultural practices. Sabine, a 33 year old participant previously described in Chapter 4, also identified a cultural background that makes her relationship different from others she compares it to, such as her husband's family. She said, "Yeah, it's definitely cultural. [My mom] is coming from a Hispanic background." I asked Sabine to clarify what this background means for her relationship with her mother and Sabine told me she must show her mother respect. Again I followed up, asking what respect looks like. Sabine told me:

> When I walk into our house I have to greet her, I have to say goodbye to her, I need to acknowledge [her]. Even if I am mad, I have to at least walk her way and tip-my-hat kind of a thing. Help her even though she says she doesn't need any help. Take her laundry up, take her garbage out. Just little things. I shouldn't have to be asked to do anything and to just do it. And just like how I speak to her as well and how I approach her.

So, I asked, how do you approach her? Sabine responded, "Just by treating her like a ma I guess and have that level of respect especially in front of my children [which] I know sometimes is hard." Sabine said that she finds it difficult to maintain the level of respect her mother expects, especially in front of the children, because she associates 'how I approach her' and 'treating her like a ma' with a tone and deference in her voice and her language which are somewhat uncomfortable to perform. In her descriptions, Sabine described these respectful behaviors as tiresome and burdensome, but required to appease her mother. While daughters may not label their practices overtly, they feel the actual weight of the emotional and physical labor that accompany daughtering. This example illustrates Sabine's understanding of daughtering behaviors that she attributes to her mother's Hispanic identification.

For Celeste, Anna, and Sabine, the perceptions of the requirements of daughtering are based in a cultural understanding. All three identified Mexican-American influences for expectations related to daughtering. Along with their mothers, these influences are learned over a lifetime through interaction with extended family and social networks. In addition to Mexican-American influences, two participants noted their Native American nationalities as influencing their daughtering as compared to the rest of the world.

Valerie repeatedly recognized her nationality as Anishinabe – Ojibwe American Indian as an influence on her interactions with her mother. When I asked Valerie, a 25 year old daughter, if she is the type of adult daughter the world expects today, she said:

> Hmmm. That's a very complicated sort of question I think. Because if I'm comparing myself and what I do to what I think other daughters do in general, I think for the most part it'd be pretty normal. It'd be similar to 'Working hard to be successful.' In my definition of being successful. But do I necessarily think it's normal considering both my family and the general public or what other families? I don't necessarily think it's normal because of our environment and our dynamic. In native families and subaltern populations, impoverished and disenfranchised people have very crazy dynamics sometimes, so that contributes to having a different sort of background. And because of my background I think I work harder than some other [daughters]. But that is something that I'll always have to do. That maybe some other daughters wouldn't necessarily have to.

Valerie answered questions during her interview both as a daughter in a more generalized "American" culture in which she currently lives, but also reflecting the attitudes, beliefs, and experiences she has had growing up as X and living on a reservation in the Midwest. In fact, she told me that she specifically wanted to be part of this study when she saw the call for participants so that she could give me a perspective from a Native American.

> All I can really say is that I definitely wanted to be a part of your study because we offer a Native American perspective, my mom and I. And I do think it's different and unique. There are a lot of similarities with other populations, but I definitely think it's unique. It's clearly hard to describe in a simple way without getting into very complicated answers and long winded sort of answers.

Another participant, Marisa, a 27 year old daughter, identified herself as of Cherokee nationality. She said the Cherokee are matrilineal and because of this, all of the women are seen as equal. When I asked her about her role as a daughter, she said:

> Now that I think about it I can't think of anybody in her family who has any concepts of roles. Like now that you say that I think about my dad, he's the son and so he is expected to call his parents once a week and things like that. But my mom's family doesn't really have that. If you have relationships with each other but there is no sense of, 'I am the daughter, this is my job. You are the mom, this is your job.' Especially once you reach adulthood, obviously when you were a kid, 'I am the parent, you listen and learn and I take care of you.' But as adults it's very fluid like when you get all of the… before everybody started dying, I have very, very fond memories of holidays where the whole family was together, all the guys would disappear wherever and me and my aunts and my mom and my

> grandma, my grandma's sister and cousins and all of the women in the kitchen and it was very fluid.

I found this to be a very interesting concept, that the idea of roles may not be present in every culture, and while this is certainly worthy of a more in-depth investigation, I found that Marisa, though perhaps not aware of the nature of roles explicitly, did talk about role expectations and evaluations. For example, Marisa told me that she feels she should go over to her mother's house more often to clean it for her, not because her mother has asked her to, but because that is what she believes daughters ought to do. Marisa also described her perspective of what the world expects from an adult daughter, saying that she perceives her behavior, and the Cherokee cultural influence, as opposite of the world, in general, for mother-daughter roles.

> Mainly just because anytime I talk about my mom where I mention our relationship everybody is like, "Wow, that's so weird. That's nothing like I have with my mom," and so I am like, "Oh, well what do you have with your mom?" And then they talk about fights or drama or where are you spending the holidays and just everybody else seems to have more stressful relationships or "I can't talk to my mom about my problems because then she will give me lots of advice," and my mom does not believe in unsolicited advice. It has to be pretty bad before my mom gives unsolicited advice. So she is not this overbearing figure that I feel like I am having to live up to her expectations of me, that's just the impression I get from my friends talking about their moms. I don't know if it'll be like that. So that's what they talk about and then they seem so confused by my relationship and I am like, "I don't understand your relationship."

For Valerie and Marisa, the requirements for daughtering are understood through a perspective of their nationality via their mothers. As described in Chapter 4, daughters frame their understanding of their role in relation to another role player, conceiving of the expectations for themselves based upon the expectations for another role performance; thus, they resort to borrowing language and role behaviors based on these comparisons. Though Valerie and Marisa differed on the manner in which they fulfill daughtering expectations, the similarity in both cases is an alternative conception of what it means to

daughter based on a cultural heritage. These examples provided by daughters who prioritize cultural considerations support ideas presented by previous scholars, like Glenn (1994) who said, on the topic of motherhood, that an understanding of role constructs must include evaluations of the culture of a role player's social interactions and institutions. Additionally, the ways in which participant responses varied by cultural identity confirms the findings of Rastogi and Wampler (1999) who found that perceptions of mother-daughter relationships vary across cultures. This explains how Marisa, who is of Cherokee origin, finds roles quite fluid, while Sabine, who identified herself as Hispanic, described a more rigid role performance, as these perceptions may vary individually and/or culturally. The common ground between these examples is that both cultural background and ethnicity are sources for daughtering expectations. These sources demonstrate part of the complexity of the social system in which daughtering exists and which daughters learn from over a lifetime. In addition to nationality, I found that religion also played an important role in daughters' role learning within a social network.

Learned from Religion

Interviewees' narratives also showed that religious beliefs influence role expectations for an adult daughter. Though religious affiliation was not listed on the participant profile sheet, nor a requirement for inclusion/exclusion in this study, many participants brought up the topic of religion, religious affiliation, or religious artifacts when describing perceived expectations for the role of adult daughter. For instance, Rachel, a 30 year old daughter, finds that she relies on her spiritual beliefs to explain the relationship with her mother and her choice of daughtering behaviors.

> I think it's important to note that we're both Christians, so we share a really strong spiritual connection. And one thing we've always said that's so weird, I

> can pick up the phone to call my mom, like have it in my hand, and she calls. And vice versa. It happens all the time. It is just so bizarre.

Rachel followed this revelation by telling me how this strong connection keeps her mother at the top of her priority list and she is always thinking about her mother's needs and working to maintain the connection. This connection to her mother is, according to Rachel, based upon shared religious beliefs, which were taught to Rachel by her mother from childhood. While Rachel identifies the religious and spiritual connection as the tying feature, this shared knowledge has also linked the two over many years, giving mother and daughter a mutual interest. Additionally, teachings shared from mother to daughter, learned by the mother from her religious or familial trainings, reify a system of shared belief.

Another example of religious beliefs, passed from mother to daughter, came from Savannah. Although both share Christian religious beliefs, Savannah has found this joint knowledge to occasionally create a crossroads for mother and daughter. Savannah described making a difficult decision a few years back when she decided not to let her mom live at her house for a short stay. Savannah and her husband were experiencing marital problems and Savannah wanted privacy during that time.

> It was a hard decision for me to make to not have her stay with us. The Bible talks about that a man and woman will leave their parents and cling to one another. And that's what was happening and that was just a hard thing to go through. You know, wanting to take care of your parent and knowing that wasn't what was really best for [my husband] and I.

Savannah indicates a biblical logic for her behavior. Though she felt justified putting her husband's needs before her mother's, and also identified that her mother would agree with this decision if she knew the impetus, it was discomfiting to deny her mother's request. And because Savannah did not want to tell her mother about the marital problems, she could not justify this decision to her mother who would have understood following this biblical dictate. Therefore, Savannah was left feeling guilty that she denied her mother's

request and could not give clarification for the denial, though Savannah felt it was the right thing to do. In this instance, Savannah had to manage contradictory information to determine her role performance. Though she believed that housing her mother was expected, her religious teachings determined that she place her marriage as a priority over her mother's needs. Such decisions are part of a complex system of role management that must balance interaction within many relationships as part of a social system.

Likewise, Elisa, spoke of a biblical reasoning for her behavior toward her mother which she uses to guide her interactions. As we discussed the future and how Elisa sees herself performing as a daughter in the future, she said:

> I mean I would love to be able to have that kind of relationship with my mother that really exemplifies like 1 Corinthians 13, that patient type of love, that unconditional kind of love, the relationship that doesn't keep records of wrong, that kind of thing.[4] I feel like there is a lot of that that negatively that happens in our relationship.

Because Elisa continues to experience many difficult interactions with her mother, she cites biblical statements as guided for her behavior. Though her mother does not make their interactions pleasant or facile, Elisa relies upon her religious training which direct that she behave in a forgiving and loving manner despite others' behavior. To do so, Elisa often has to put aside her feelings of discontent to act in accordance with a lifetime of training. Practicing these behaviors thus shape her role performance as an adult daughter.

---

[4] If I speak in the tongues[a] of men or of angels, but do not have love, I am only a resounding gong or a clanging cymbal. 2 If I have the gift of prophecy and can fathom all mysteries and all knowledge, and if I have a faith that can move mountains, but do not have love, I am nothing. 3 If I give all I possess to the poor and give over my body to hardship that I may boast,[b] but do not have love, I gain nothing.4 Love is patient, love is kind. It does not envy, it does not boast, it is not proud. 5 It does not dishonor others, it is not self-seeking, it is not easily angered, it keeps no record of wrongs. 6 Love does not delight in evil but rejoices with the truth. 7 It always protects, always trusts, always hopes, always perseveres. 8 Love never fails. But where there are prophecies, they will cease; where there are tongues, they will be stilled; where there is knowledge, it will pass away. 9 For we know in part and we prophesy in part, 10 but when completeness comes, what is in part disappears. 11 When I was a child, I talked like a child, I thought like a child, I reasoned like a child. When I became a man, I put the ways of childhood behind me. 12 For now we see only a reflection as in a mirror; then we shall see face to face. Now I know in part; then I shall know fully, even as I am fully known. 13 And now these three remain: faith, hope and love. But the greatest of these is love. 1 Corinthians 13 NIV

Though perhaps for Elisa, the guidance from religious training is clear, others find it confusing. Debbie, who has a strained relationship with her mother, said her religious principles can create challenges for knowing how to behave. When I asked her if she is what the world expects from an adult daughter, she responded by telling me about mother-daughter activities and then framed the relationship based on religious principles.

> It's an interesting question because since we live in different states, it's not like we can just all go on vacation. I think there is one aspect to that like going shopping and doing all of that, traditional mother-daughter stuff. We don't do that. Even when she is here, she is not interested in that kind of shopping. She'd rather just go to Hobby Lobby or quilt stores and she will take us to Wal-Mart and get us some stuff that we need and that's kind of like shopping. But then when [my parents] are here, we do go do stuff together. So in one way, yes, but then I know there is also one perspective in the world that if a relationship isn't working, that you just say whatever and you move on and I am trying to not follow that mentality. So I guess I am probably not doing daughtering the way a lot of people would do it, but doing the best that I can in the situation that I have. And also as a Christian I feel like I don't necessarily need to do it the way the rest of the world that doesn't have the values that I have. It doesn't need to be what they expect and then I really just need to be accountable to God and trying to do the best that I can in the situation that I have.

Debbie's response shows many elements of meaning-making. First she addresses common shared activities that she thinks of adult mothers and daughters sharing, talking about vacations and shopping. She then tells me what she thinks most daughters in the world are doing, which is to leave a relationship that does not work, but she rejects this idea. She then demonstrates a coping mechanism, saying she is doing the best she can as an adult daughter, given her situation. Finally, she adds a religious perspective, saying that she is justified in doing daughtering differently than the rest of the world because she wants to act in accordance with her religious beliefs and leaving the judgement to God, not the rest of the world. Debbie's response illustrates that she has dual concepts of the adult daughter role including society's adult daughter role and her own. Responses like these show that,

while daughters do not clearly name or label the role of an adult daughter, they have varied conceptions of it, for themselves and others, tied to social frameworks related to their ethnicity, religion, and other social network sources.

While the previous examples show how daughters are guided by their religious beliefs, some daughters' role enactments are guided by an obligation to respect their mothers' beliefs. Loraina said participating in religious rituals is a performance that placates her mother, though it is at odds with her own belief system:

> I grew up Catholic, I went to Catholic school and [my mom] is very religious and she will ask me I'll go to church with her or something like that and I'll go to the mass but I am not Catholic….And it's to kind of make her happy or I'll do my prayer before we eat and I just won't do the sign of the cross but everyone else will and she hasn't asked me about it but it's kind of my own way of not [doing religion I don't believe in]. She knows [I don't agree] but she likes the idea of me not saying it and her getting to keep thinking that I am Catholic and believe in God or Jesus or whatever.

I asked Loraina why she would perform these rituals for her mother if she does not believe in the religious doctrine. She said:

> I feel like it's more of a respect thing because for me to tell her that I am not what she is, is—in a way—saying what she is isn't invalid or isn't something that I would think or prescribe to, which may be disrespectful to her or that kind of thing…Yeah, me sitting through the emotions of it doesn't hurt anything or anyone but I know that when we have kids that's going to be really interesting to work around because the way we would raise our kiddos is going to be… I don't know.

Loraina's story demonstrates how a daughter may holds conflicting religious beliefs than her mother, yet choose to respectfully perform rituals that will appease. Although the religious tenants she holds have changed from those of her childhood, Loraina's understanding of respect and proper role enactment that she has learned through interactions within a social system are still upheld.

Similarly, Bojczyk and colleagues (2011) studied mother and adult daughters' narratives of past events and identified religion as an external influence on relationship change. Interestingly, participants in their study identified religion as an agent of change which can both positively and negatively affect the mother-daughter relationship. Bojczyk et al.'s findings confirm the responses from interviewees in this study who also identified religion as a source for role expectations. However, those in Bojczyk and colleagues' study only reported on past events, whereas, in contrast, the daughters in this study identified religion as not only conceptions of past events, but also as useful for guiding future interactions.

Review of Theme 4: Systemic Knowledge

This theme presented examples of participant responses which show that conceptions of the adult daughter role stem from a variety of sources, nested within a complex social system. It is important to note that when asked this question, all daughters were able to consider and respond to the question. Participants thus demonstrated that, whether or not they were previously aware of or had considered the role of adult daughter, they were able to reflect upon the sources from which she garnered ideas about this role. This is of particular importance because these interactions and conversations show that daughters have thoughts about the role of adult daughter, even if only to briefly reflect upon the topic within our interview setting. Participants, when asked about their role as a daughter, often relief on individualized accounts of their relationships with their mothers, showing that they conceive of daughtering as a dyadic experience rather than a role portrayal. However, taken collectively, the interviewees showed that they are enacting a similar role portrayal, providing evidence for an adult daughter role. During the interviews, I asked daughters directly about their mothers. Responses showed that daughters learn role

expectations from their mothers implicitly, both over time from interactions with their mothers and more, and explicitly, when their mothers discuss their role performance. I also asked daughters about what the world expects from an adult daughter and they gave responses indicating ethnicity and cultural background as well as religious beliefs. I argue that these sources, which are embedded within a complex social network, contribute to a daughter's role knowledge from birth.

Based upon a lifetime of engagement in a larger system, I suggest that interactional role theory can be used to understand these findings, as this viewpoint suggests that roles are learned during interactions with individuals and groups over time (Turner, 2001). The evidence from participant narratives shows that roles are learned over time and through a multifaceted social system. By showing me these sources of influence for daughtering expectations, participants confirmed the theoretical assumption that roles begin from the patterning of clusters of behaviors and attitudes that are thought to belong together (Turner, 2001). Collectively, participants named expectations derived from ethnicity, culture, and religious training as contributions to their role knowledge. Not only do daughters learn about their role over time and through interactions, but also they reify these roles through their evaluations of other role performers and subsequent role performances.

THEME 5: EVALUATE THEMSELVES AGAINST OTHERS

As an adult daughter performs her role, learned through a social system of meaning, she also evaluates her performance against that of others'. As she observes others and molds her role behaviors to fit within what she believes to be a reasonable role performance, a daughter contributes to and molds the adult daughter role portrayal. I asked participants a range of questions such as "Are you the kind of adult daughter the world expects today? Have you thought about what the world thinks about daughtering? Is it easy

or hard to do what the world thinks daughters ought to do?" I wanted participants to think of the daughtering role in an abstract way, to push them to consider daughtering from a role perspective and not only a dyadic experience between themselves and their mothers. Many were surprised by these questions. They had never considered what the world might expect of an adult daughter. Most concluded that they were uncertain if they fit the mold. No participants from this sample had previously thought about their daughtering from this perspective, because they tended to consider daughtering as interpersonal and unique to their individual relationships with their mothers. However, as I asked participants to think about daughtering more broadly, all were able to generate a response to this question. For example, Elisa, a 28 year old daughter, when asked about what the world expects of a daughter, said:

> Oh I have no idea. I never thought about what the world expects of a daughter. I think that's very cultural too. I feel maybe in like our culture adult children aren't really expected of much. As I see so many people in assisted care units and stuff like that… and some of that is for legitimate medical concerns that… I don't know.

As discussed in the previous theme, daughters learn about their role expectations from a social system of meaning, evaluating things, for instance, as Elisa does, looking at how adult children care for their parents when they're elderly. As with many who think about adult daughtering, Elisa's mind jumped to caretaking responsibilities for when her mother is in elderhood and society's expectations for a daughter's caretaking. Elisa's response generalized all adult children into one group and also gave them a general cultural association, with which she did not identify. Taken collectively, these interviews show that not only do daughters have a conception of their enactment as a role, but also that in order to discern appropriate daughtering behaviors, they compare themselves to others also enacting the adult daughter role. The action of considering and meaning-making, which

was occurring as participants responded, was physically evident in the expressions on their faces, repetition of phrases, pauses, and inconsistencies or overlaps. Shay weighed the question this way:

> Adult daughter. Well I try to not get myself wrapped around the world because I think it's crazy so probably not but I hope that I am. And I pray for this- an example. I want to be the example of what a woman should be, what a woman can be, as far as the mom, the daughter, the friend, the sister. I try to be that person but I guess it's the person that I want to be. I am not sure if people would look at me…I mean I'll tell people some experiences and more often I get like, 'You are crazy. I would never do that,' or 'Whatever.' …All I can say is I hope that I'm what the world wants and that I am open to growth and changing too, but I think I am trying to stay on that path [of mindfully daughtering my mother].

Both Elisa and Shay also bring up predominant characteristics that were evident in daughters' responses to this question: the presence of societal factors that daughters identified as their reference point for the "world." Themes of attribution for evaluating one's role performance included both friends and a generalized idea of society at large, as shown in the following two sections.

Comparisons with Friends

Several participants' stories revealed that some of their expectations for daughtering come from evaluating themselves against the behaviors of their peers, usually favorably evaluating themselves against ways other adult daughters were inadequate. Shay, as described earlier in this chapter, knows her mother has expectations for her as a daughter. I also shared a quote from Shay, earlier, that shows how she avoided thinking about what the world wants from her as an adult daughter. Furthermore, she elaborated on using biblical teachings to guide her behaviors. References for the daughtering roles are overlapping, not discrete, and multiple sources mix to influence one's role portrayal. In addition to the other sources, Shay elaborated on comparisons she makes with friends' daughtering behaviors to discern how she should behave.

> Like with experiences. I mean during weddings like certain friends, I am like, "What? You're not going to… Is your mom doing that for you? Did your mom… Are you going to allow…" and all are like, "No, I never even thought of that." Or "Are you going to honor your mom during this?" So most of them they don't even think about that and that for me they're just with themselves, what they're doing at that moment.

Shay's response points to several things. First, when Shay attended weddings and observes particular behaviors, she asks her friends if they are going to make their moms work instead of being the one who is a guest of honor with her feet up. When Shay asks her friends if they ever considered that, they have not, which Shay considers selfish. As a result of this analysis, Shay judged the others to be inadequately performing daughtering, while confirming that the ways in which she acts within the role as correct. Shay also described hearing friends' birth stories.

> Giving birth, all my friends are having babies. Girl, I had my mom. Well guess what else, my mother-in-law was right there whereas for me it was very much I can't experience having a baby without my mom there. Like I barely want to be in the room, I definitely don't want [my husband] but I was like I need my mom. Your mom can come too. She was off in the corner doing her own thing and my mom is right there which I knew she would be. She would be like, "[Husband], come on, help out." But other of my friends, no. Which I know that's an intimate setting but I could not imagine that without my mom. And they would never want their mom there. So those types – weddings, those things.

In these two examples, Shay described the ways that she is outperforming her peers in the adult daughter role. As she said, earlier, Shay rejects the world's expectations for a daughter because she finds this bar is set too low. In contrast to these low expectations from the "world," Shay perceives that her daughtering skills excel. It is evaluations like these that aid daughters in understanding the role of an adult daughter. In the instances Shay described, at weddings and hearing birth stories, her recollection of events discussed with me stopped after describing the experience she assessed. However, if Shay's description of these event is any indication, she likely gave feedback to the interactants in

those scenarios about her feelings on their behavior. It is not only through her evaluation of herself and any modifications to her role performance that a role is molded, but also within the impact of those around her when she is creating these evaluations in everyday life events.

In another example, Lottie also evaluates herself against her friends, finding herself more successful at her role portrayal when considering what the world expects of an adult daughter. I asked her if she is what the world expects and Lottie replied:

> I think so, if not more. I mean, just solely based on most of my friends. I think a lot of people move a lot further way from their parents and maybe don't see and speak… most of my friends would speak to the mom as often as I do. So yes, with the plus sign. I think for some people they just couldn't. You just couldn't be that close, spend that much time with your mom. That's my life I guess.

Lottie described evaluating herself with a Yes+, when appraising the behaviors and role enactments of her friends and peers. This example illustrates again how a daughter compares her daughtering behaviors with friends and, as a result, earns for herself high marks for time and attention daughtering her mother. When performing this evaluation and finding herself favorable, Lottie confirms that she is portraying the adult daughter role well and then is able to use this as a guideline for future interactions with her mother.

In another example, Sabine did not place a positive or negative valuation on her daughtering in comparison with others, but she acknowledged that this measurement exists. When describing how to treat her mother with respect, as detailed in the previous theme, Sabine notices a difference in how others around her do it.

> And my in-laws – my mother-in-law, my sister-in-law – it's totally different as compared with the relationship I have with my mom. I think it's just more it could be upbringing in a sense.

This example shows how Sabine evaluates herself against family members, finding herself neither better nor worse, only different. Interestingly, this example also shows how Sabine,

upon finding a mismatch in daughtering behaviors employed a description of a dyadic role interplay, saying that perhaps the juxtaposition between herself and the others is simply a matter of upbringing. Even as my discussions with participants asked them to broadly consider role behaviors, the tendency was always to return to a conception of the mother-daughter interplay as interpersonal rather than role-based.

Finally, one participant, Anna, noted a specific peer with whom she identifies when evaluating daughtering expectations. Anna described this peer as someone who is like herself, but she also critically judged this friend's behavior. In addition to simply evaluating these differences, Anna has also discussed these topics with this friend:

> My friend and I talk about this. She moved to Utah. She left her mom. Her mom is a widow. And so the big discussions we have is her family telling her, parts of her family tell her, 'How could you leave your mother? Why would you do that?'

The reason her friend receives pushback for leaving her mother is, according to Anna, based on cultural expectations for daughtering. This example shows Anna assessing this peer as a friend, but also as a member of their joint cultural group. For Anna, she is conflicted about daughtering expectations for herself, as she is sandwiched between two sets of cultural expectations, with friends in each group. Anna's narratives demonstrated her sensemaking as she weighed implications of following different cultural value systems and the implications of each on her daughtering role portrayal. This example also demonstrates both the source of a role expectation (culture) and the evaluation of this behavior (with a friend). Though these ideas may be demonstrated thematically within this chapter, they are, in reality for adult daughters, overlapping and sometimes messy to disentangle.

Daughters, whether they choose to follow them or not, are evaluating their daughtering behaviors against those of their friends and peers. The overlapping nature of

various influences, like in the responses of Shay and Anna above, shows how daughters patch together role considerations, constructing an understanding of role expectations. Though they studied a variety of sources for mother-daughter ties, Bojczyk et al. (2011) did not evaluate the influence of friendship networks and encouraged future scholars to do so. Friends are voluntarily chosen relationships characterized by intimacy, equality, and pleasurable interactions (Buhl, 2009, p. 240). However, adults reported feeling lower power than their friends and experienced less conflict than in relationships with their mothers, intentionally, so as not to upset the friendship balance (Buhl, 2009, p. 246). Most importantly, scholars have found that friendship remains an important concern throughout mid-life (Buhl, 2009; Adams & Blieszner, 1996). It is this consideration that friendship matters to adults, despite a decrease in number of friends or time spent together (Adams & Blieszner, 1996), which supports the findings in this theme. Descriptions from daughters in this study show that as daughters continuously remake their roles, they are influenced by their friendships.

Comparisons with Society

When asked about their conceptions of what the world expects from a daughter, participant narratives showed that they evaluate themselves against friends, but also against popular examples found in society at large. Examples of mothers and daughters can be found in television, films, books, and blogs, saturating the consciousness of the populous. For example, two 2016 films "Mother's Day" and "Bad Moms" star popular actresses and showcase not only children and adolescents, but adult daughters' relationships with their mothers in a Hollywood package. On television, the currently airing show "Mom" details the fictional life of Christy Plunkett, who has restarted her life of sobriety while living with her mother Bonnie, teen daughter Violet (who is now a mother herself, making Christy a

grandmother, too) and younger son Roscoe. Though called "Mom," this show explores the lively relationship between many generations of women and showcases quite a lot of daughtering behaviors. Though the responses describing media and 'society' were fewer than descriptions of friends and family members, shows like these are part of a popular culture that contributes to daughters' understanding of acceptable role portrayals. When I asked Sabine if she is the kind of adult daughter the world expects today, she replied, "Sure! I don't even know what the world expects of a daughter. [pause] Can you repeat it one more time, please?" I could see that she gave a quick response, but wanted to consider her answer further. I asked the question again: "Are you the kind of adult daughter the world expects today?" and she replied, more slowly this time:

> I guess the world expects like in the movies. They get married. They have kids. You see grandma and grandpa on the weekend kind of a thing. You talk. You write letters. You do Christmas cards. Nowadays, Facebook, email, Snapchat, Instagram, you do all that. I feel like, yes, in that sense like in the movies—aww, it's so perfect—Yeah, I am there. In my own version based on the type of relationship I have with my mother and my family background and all the experiences I've had. So yes, I feel like I fall into that, kind of.

I followed this with the question, "Have you ever thought about what society thinks about daughtering?" and Sabine said, "No. Not until you talked about it right now." As we talked, Sabine was creating her meaning-making about daughtering and she confronted new ideas she had never previously explored, simply through questions that opened new avenues for consideration. Sabine's first connection was to make a comparison to media and images. Not only did Sabine identify several daughtering expectations, but she also confirmed for herself that she is meeting these ideals. More than any other participant, Sabine's responses and evolution throughout our interview was the most visibly observable.

In another example, Amy, a 32 year old daughter, also said that she sees things on television or in the news that she thinks about when considering the world's expectations for an adult daughter:

> I would say, yeah, some of the celebrities that you can see on the TV all the time that have those close-knit relationships and things like that. Or even some of the bad ones. When you see for example somebody that's a celebrity doing drugs with her daughter, that's the bad impact of it and I think of myself, "Man, I don't ever want to be in that. Thank God I don't have that relationship with my mom," or things like that.

The pervasiveness of messages from the media provide an avenue for women to compare themselves against celebrities' behavior and relationships. While Amy only mentioned television, stories of celebrities cover magazines, are heard on the radio, and make headlines in the news, all of which work together to keep popular culture stories in front of women. As these messages pervade, messages emerge that functions to shape the adult daughter role.

Loraina also recognized media as an influence when thinking of daughtering expectations, but found her role did not mirror those she sees on television. When we were discussing what sources Loraina looks at to know how to daughter, she said:

> I guess it's seeing my friends' families together and like I see the way [my wife] was with her mom and I am like, "Man that's awesome!" As cliché as it is, you see these families on TV and they are always talking about the hard issues and it's just like, I never got that. In private schools it was very like, "Don't have sex," and then beyond that it was a picture book that my mom gave me. It was like, "Figure it out." Yeah, so I guess it's seeing your friends and when you're young you spend time [with] other people's families. My mom and I fight. Save for a few very memorable occasions, we never yelled at each other because that was just another thing that we are just like, "You just don't do that. You don't yell at your parent." And then I would see my friends yell at their parents. In my head it was, "How do you feel comfortable with her to talk that way?" because I never did, I guess.

This example showcases not only the influence of media, but overlaps with the previous discussion, as she is also looking to sources like a spouse, sister, or friend to see how they manage relationships with their mothers. Loraina said that she checks her relationship against these sources and sees something missing in her relationship, the comfort-level to yell at her mother, but still does not know how to change it. Her response shows that she has, and continues to, consider these ideas, which then serve to mold the ways she presently, and will in the future, enacts the adult daughter role. Similarly, Clara jumbled together many evaluations for daughtering:

> Like on social media, like with Facebook, a lot of people put out there what a good husband does or what a good sister does or a good brother and there are a lot of people that I see who were like, "Oh you know, my beautiful daughter took me here" or "My daughter did this to me and I love my daughter." People post a lot of things on Facebook about what they're doing for their moms, what they're doing for their daughters and so I think that is when you start to compare yourself like to… like we talked about earlier with my mom like when my sister brings her something or does something she shares it to Facebook. Those things are getting projected out there.

I asked Clara to clarify if she meant that these posts about daughters are the same as those about husband, sister, brother that she listed. She clarified, saying, "It's not really like this Super Daughter. You don't hear about that stuff. You hear a lot about moms and their kids but not obviously like identifying [a woman] as a daughter to their mom." I understood Clara to mean that she has observed many individualized expressions of a daughter doing something for her mother on social media, which she may use to compare herself to, but has not observed daughtering characterized as a broader role performance. Examples like this description of social media show that an adult daughter has a wide array of sources within a social system to compare herself to. Whether it be television, news, or social media, daughters find there is a comparison to be made.

Beyond the influence of the media, Ellie, a 28 year old daughter, told me that she believes there is a Good Daughter ideal that adult women are supposed to live up to.

> [The Good Daughter] is respectful and she listens to her mother and she takes her mom's advice. She doesn't get into trouble, as they say. And would be somebody that I think her mother would be proud of assuming that your mother would be proud of the right things which some parents are totally okay with things that I think society would say is not totally okay.

The explanation Ellie gives describes her conception of what it means to be good at daughtering one's mother. She even began to cover what a Good Mother might do. When I asked Clara if it was easy or difficult to do what society thinks a daughter should do, she told me, "Probably harder if you live up to the expectations of everybody else, whatever it is that they expect. Society usually expects the perfect world image. This would happen in a perfect world and so it's harder that way." Many daughters had examples like this when discussing how daughters fit into society's conception. Jenny offered up her understanding of society's conception of daughter.

> I thought about four different stereotypes of good kinds of daughters. I mean, you've got the Caretaker Daughter that goes in and does everything and spends as much time as they can. You've got the Daughter that just takes care of their own life and doesn't do anything for their parents at all. You've got the Best Friend Daughter with good boundaries. And you've got the Abusive Daughter. Like those are the stereotypes that come into my head and I don't know that I am the daughter that the world expects me to be but I am the daughter for who I am and who she is.

This explanation showcases Jenny's conception of the types of daughters one would find in her sociocultural milieu. However, Jenny remains unclear if she fits any of these examples. Though Jenny is able to characterize four broad types of daughters, she did not place herself in one of these categories, which is only further evidence for daughters' conception of their own mother-daughter interactions as interpersonal rather than role-based.

I have shown several examples, presented in this theme, which illustrate how adult daughters conceive of and compare themselves against societal expectations. Korolczuk (2010) found, in her interviews with adult daughters, that the relationship between a mother and daughter is not only created through individualized experiences, but also informed by evolving cultural discourses (Korolczuk, 2010, p. 483). To extend this idea, I argue that not only are relationships, but also *roles,* informed by cultural discourses. My argument is supported by several forms of evidence, such as the work of Walters (1992) who said that women continue to reproduce elements of dominant discourses, often in ways that reify traditional gender expectations. Some of the women in this study provided narratives that reified this traditional expectation of daughters, which equated daughterhood with womanhood and then womanhood with motherhood, instead of realizing there is a mutuality and subjectivity to both daughter and mother (van Mens-Verhulst, 1995). However, these traditional notions were challenged or contradicted by the same women, who often chafed at the idea of performing daughtering perfectly in order to compete with a vague societal standard.

This theme explored the ways in which daughters conceive of role expectations and evaluate themselves against these sources, such as friends and society. These expectations may be learned through cultural rituals, religious teachings, friendly rivalries, or via characters one sees on television. Daughters observe their peers and their extended family networks for examples that they internalize and use as a yardstick for their own behavior. Additionally, through the onslaught of societal messages, daughters come to understand how they "should" behave in their role as adult daughter.

Review of Theme 5: Using social knowledge

This chapter presented examples of participant responses which show that conceptions of the adult daughter role stem from a variety of sources, embedded within a social system. Daughters not only learn their role within a social system, but also evaluate themselves against others within it to determine their own role performance. The themes presented in this chapter illustrate that daughters have an understanding of the expectations associated with the adult daughter role and use this knowledge to evaluate themselves and others, shaping and reifying these expectations for themselves and others who also perform this role. Daughters function within this structure as maintainers and promoter of a social system. One way to frame these themes is to consider the many daughters performing the role of adult daughter in tandem as exhibiting a collective competence for the expectations of the adult daughter role, or a *daughterhood*. I use this term similarly to *brotherhood* or *sisterhood*, which is to say that a daughterhood is not achieved simply through a status or role transition, as in *motherhood*, but rather as a collective of people doing the same tasks and functioning within the same role.

DISCUSSION OF DAUGHTERHOOD

Daughters function using the adult daughter role to work within a social system. Evidence, however, points to daughters considering their daughtering labor as dyadic or individualized to their own mother-daughter relationship. However, taken collectively, it is clear to see that these daughters are performing within the same adult daughter role, which is functional within a whole social system of interaction. Daughters are raised learning these behaviors from childhood, whether it be from their mothers and grandmothers or other family members, from community members sharing the same ethnicity and culture, or from religious trainings. Collectively, adult daughters have a competence for the expectations of their role, and function to maintain a social system.

Thematic data presented in this chapter shows an awareness of daughtering expectations and behaviors, along with a reference group for such value judgements, to be a collective competence, as all participants were daughters. For this study, perhaps the best way to conceptualize the idea of a daughterhood, because the data gathered do not definitively prove its existence, is to understand the benefit of recognizing the ways daughters are participating in parallel with others, and as participants in a community. Sotirin and Ellingson (2007) provide a contemporary model for a related role, that of the Aunt. Aunting is a contemporary enactment of kinship and family that demonstrates feminine agency (Sotirin & Ellingson, 2007). In their analysis of mainstream discourses about Aunts, Sotirin and Ellingson argued that the ubiquitous aunt figures repeatedly transgress and are therefore relegated to an unfair reputation in popular consciousness. As a result, these authors find aunting to be a site for opportunity to rearticulate the nature of aunts and aunting "as important feminist resources for challenging and changing conventional understandings and practices of family, care, and kinship" (Sotirin & Ellingson, 2007, p.443). Likewise, I propose conceptualizing the existence of a daughterhood as a cultural practice that supports and maintains the infrastructure of families, which rearticulates what it means to be an adult daughter into contemporary terms.

Therefore to begin understanding how the existence of a daughterhood might shape our conception of adult daughters, I offer a description, based upon the interviews conducted for this study, of *daughterhood*:

By daughterhood, I mean the performance of the collective competence of the role of adult daughters, wherein a daughter's participation requirement is as simple as having a mother and maintaining any relationship with her or as complex as meeting the understood demands associated with daughtering, garnered from a variety of sources, while assessing

how others are doing it and reifying the role through relational labor; this experience is lived by daughters doing the work of daughtering side by side, whether or not she realizes her participation in a systemic experience of daughtering.

The utility of framing daughters enacting the adult daughter role as a daughterhood is a look at the ways in which roles are constructed. This description is informed by the work of Korolczuk (2010), who says that "daughterhood requires emotional, intellectual, and physical effort; the role of daughter is fluid, flexible, culturally and historically diverse" (p. 470). She concluded that, while there exists a general narrative about a daughterhood of women enacting the daughter roles collectively, the notion of a daughterhood is abstract in its definition, but prevalent in the discussions of participants. When we imagine a collective competence that daughters have for the role of adult daughter, enacting these role behaviors at the same time and for a similar purpose, the architecture of a daughterhood emerges.

Comparing the data from the current study with work like that of Korolczuk (2010), I acknowledge the limited attention given to this topic, not only in scholarly literature, but within the talk of participants, and yet I found in analysis of the data that daughters are learning their roles from a social system as well as measuring and evaluating their role portrayals against other portrayals. This notion of a daughterhood gains us glimpses into what it is like to be an adult daughter in the world today. Because the efforts of an adult daughter and discussions of role performance are not prevalent in our society, this indicates something critical that must be fleshed out: Why is this gendered role, one which requires effort and is frequently enacted, not being discussed? I found that daughters are practicing daughtering, and yet, they are not comfortable discussing their role portrayals. In addition, I found that daughters identify sources for role expectations, like mothers and others, which they use to determine how to adequately enact daughtering. Thus, I argue that adult

daughters practice enacting the same role, though they have yet to consider this as a collective competence or role performance.

Though women can describe their personal roles and relationships with their mothers, considerations of daughterhood as a systemic experience are missing. However if we allow the idea of a daughterhood of women to take root, we are able to learn something about communication in society, in a broader sense. The joint characteristics of the participants in a social system are its cultural attributes. When daughters described expectations from various sources including larger social platforms like peers, media, and religious structure, they are sensemaking about daughtering, contributing to role making and the culture of a daughterhood. Culture is, according to Wolcott (2008), represented and revealed through discerning patterns of socially shared behaviors, which the participants in this study revealed they can do when prompted to discuss their everyday experiences. Daughters then use this social knowledge to make decisions about how to behave in their roles based on these shared social conceptions, acting in parallel with other adult daughters performing their roles. As they share the practice of enacting the adult daughter role, daughters are creating a community experience, a daughterhood, even though daughters may not realize they are community members. Roles are learned through practice and observation of one's community and reference groups, creating a collective experience for adult daughters. These data reveal a complex social system, a daughterhood, which adult daughters are a part of.

Adult daughters' role conceptions and influences are generated from a variety of sources, including their mothers, others who share their ethnicity or cultural background, and religious training. Daughters use this role knowledge to evaluate their own role performance against friends and examples in society, reifying the role, and then enacting it alongside other community members. The data presented in this chapter serves to

illuminate how adult daughters' meaning-making about their place in the world contributes to their perceived role behaviors, individually and collectively. Conceiving of this collective experience as a *daughterhood* of women, formed and molded over a lifetime of daily experiences, these behaviors show that the adult daughter role is a shared community experience and not simply individual dyadic relationships with mothers. The following chapter will detail the social construction of the role of adult daughter in greater depth.

Chapter 6: Theorizing about the Adult Daughter Role

The themes presented illustrate the complex system from which daughters learn expectations for enacting the adult daughter role. These data showed that daughters demonstrate a collective competence for the adult daughter role, which they are enacting alongside one another in their everyday lives. All of the daughters in this study described daughtering behaviors and showed an understanding of influences from the daughterhood of women who are doing the same types of things. These sources influence and shape the role of the adult daughter. Cognitively, daughters conceive of and construct ideas for role behaviors, molding and shaping the role as they age and change. This role is situated within a context such as a family, a society, which, I suggest, creates a collective competence for women, functioning as a daughterhood that serves to mold and reify role expectations. This chapter explores how the role of adult daughter is socially constructed and extends the concept of *Communities of Practice* for understanding the concept of a daughterhood of women as a community experience. Because daughtering is most often understood via other role portrayals, such as through borrowed language, and the work of daughtering is unacknowledged, the result is an unrecognized community of adult daughters enacting the same role. Though daughters embody the practice of the adult daughter role, daughtering has yet to be considered a valuable tool that women use to maintain their social networks. Furthermore, this chapter extends the use of interactional role theory to describe how adult daughters use the knowledge and sense-making about their adult daughter role to make decisions about their personal interactions with their mothers. Finally, a matrix is proposed for understanding the various ways that women can daughter quite differently from one another, yet still be functioning within the same role.

MAKING IT WORK: DOING DAUGHTERING

By interviewing 33 adult daughters, I gathered a snapshot of things daughters say about their roles and was able to analyze these data for themes of meaning on daughtering. The daughter role is an active, dynamic site for meaning, but has yet to be understood, even by the actors themselves, which impacts daughters' socially constructed understanding of the role and the shared competence of role actors. By examining participant interpretations of events for implications, I have allowed for, even sought, the emergence of the complex nature of meaning-making about adult daughters' roles (Goldsmith & Fitch, 1997; Goldsmith, 2001).

I began this study with interviews, conducted mostly at coffee shops and restaurants, where I asked daughters to tell me about their relationships with their mothers. I also asked daughters to specifically think about themselves and their role as an adult daughter. Many daughters were initially caught off guard when asked to discuss their role as an active portrayal rather than asking about the more-commonly discussed mothering role being performed by their older mothers. Daughters are used to describing themselves vis-a-vis their mothers, positioning themselves as reflections of her and judging themselves based on their behaviors toward their mothers or their mothers' satisfaction levels, for better or for worse. Despite difficulty, initially, extricating the role of adult daughter from the tangle of the mother-daughter relationship, I found evidence in daughters' descriptions of daughtering that they do, indeed, have a complex understanding of the role of an adult daughter and daughtering behaviors.

The role of adult daughter is dynamic and active, meaning daughters exercise choice over when and how to trigger their roles. In this chapter, I theorize how the examples from the previous chapters can be used to understand the social construction of the adult daughter role. Daughters provide something for their mothers, whether it be instrumental,

emotional, or simply the mental work of thinking about future action. Based on the data from this study, I argue that daughters are laboring, doing the work of daughtering their mothers, often behaving in ways they think are necessary yet do not desire to carry out. However, adult daughters often fail to recognize the amount of mental effort and emotional labor this costs. Additionally, daughters are practicing this role alongside other daughters doing the same. I use the term habituated to describe the practice of a behavior, as in the sociolinguistic tradition. I argue that the concept of a daughterhood shows a collective competence for the work of daughtering and will explore in this chapter how daughtering and daughterhood are part of a community experience.

Community

I propose that we conceive of this collective role portrayal, or daughterhood, as a community performance. Although a daughterhood is not a commonly known community, it can be conceived of as an imagined community. According to Anderson (2006), an imagined community is a socially constructed idea of a group and a feeling of belongingness to this community. An imagined community does not have to be a physical space for its members feel a strong identification with it. A community is a concept held in the minds of community members, most of whom will never meet because their population is too numerous. The notion that a community is imagined does not take away from the credibility of its existence. Instead, Anderson (2006) asserts that most communities are imagined, because it is the sense that it exists and that one belongs to it that makes a community, not the organization of it. "Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined" (Anderson, 2006, p. 6). Evaluating daughters as community members allows for a critical assessment of the value daughtering holds in contemporary society.

The shared practice of daughtering has created a community of daughters, a daughterhood, though perhaps the actors within it are not yet fully aware they belong to this community. Indeed, based upon the data collected for this study, I may suggest that it daughtering is a practice searching for a community as the idea of daughtering and daughterhood crystallizes for the women who use the adult daughter role. Daughters are essentially participating in a daughterhood community which they are able to provide stories about and make sense of, describing how their peers and family members do daughtering. I will further explore these ideas a bit later.

In Chapter 4, I described the act of daughtering as labor, performed for mothers. In fact, participants were also doing emotional labor in their interviews with me as they struggled to appropriately portray the role of daughter based upon conventional rules while they also struggled to supply answers to my questions. I used these observations as evidence that contributed to better understanding the nature of daughtering. Adult daughters are performing a role, for their mothers and the community of women around them doing the same. As a peer in the daughterhood, our interviews required some positioning by the participants for me, even though this interview was clearly for research purposes.

As I conducted interviews, I found that asking women to describe their adult daughter role and daughtering behaviors was described with a reliance on words whose origins spring from other tropes, like mothering or caretaking. The imprecise language used by participants to describe the act of daughtering, coupled with the descriptions of many daughtering behaviors, indicates that daughters are not cataloguing these activities as they perform them. Therefore, these acts stay muted in their understanding of themselves and the community of daughters around them. To explain this placeholder language used for the adult daughter role, I suggest that this is because daughtering remains

under the surface of a daughter's awareness, existing only as routine or habit in her everyday life and rarely given much attention.

According to Hanks (1996), habit is one way people learn about their socially constructed world. Daughters' habits come from "routine, repeated ways of acting into which speakers are inculcated through education and daily experience" (Hanks, 1996, p. 12). It is more flexible to think of everyday interactions between comfortable associates as habituation and practice rather than rules, which are inflexible and bring up the idea of structuralist approaches for doing relationships. Moreover, "rules are, at least in their classical form, represented and followed by the mind, whereas habits may engage the body with or without the meditation of the mind" (Hanks, 1996, p. 12). When considering daughtering in light of habit, it is easier to understand how daughters may be able to describe something and make sense of it, but yet are not fully aware they are doing it. Daughtering, I believe, is a habituated, or practiced, role experienced, but is not always cognitively represented in daughters' talk of everyday situations.

Habitus, a notion introduced by Bourdieu (1977), is the socially embedded ideas within an actor that inform ways of acting. According to Hanks (2005), habituation means the ways of acting and evaluating actions that people routinely think and believe, communicated through language. Through practicing behaviors and ways of communicating, routines become sedimented and then recreated in relationships. Habituation is located in the body, not the mind (Bourdieu, 1977) and, therefore, can be considered something one knows and understands without a strong cognitive awareness of knowing it. Habituation involves practicing a behavior repeatedly until it becomes second nature, or habit. In the case of adult daughters, they are performing daughtering behaviors and depicting the role of an adult daughter through habit, a lifetime of practice participating in this role. As many women indicated in this study, though, they have never talked

explicitly about the role *as a role*, but only in terms of individual behaviors in relation to a daughter's particular mother. This disconnection between performing the action and crediting it as role in the larger scheme of a community of many similar role actors may explain why there is limited language to describe daughtering.

Language

The language of the participants in this small sample reveals details of what it means to be an adult daughter today. Berger and Luckmann (1966) say that it is impossible to explore the micro-level processes of socialization without also considering the macro-level impact of societal elements. Reality, then, is a continuous flowing dialectical relationship between a person, objective reality, and society (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). The role of daughter is socially constructed via a network of influences. Daughters are adapting to the boundaries of a community and culture without a full understanding of how or why. Though daughters do not have a strong awareness of participation in daughterhood, this sample demonstrates that adult daughters are, however, doing many similar things to other adult daughters.

When I asked study participants to consider daughtering, all were able to reflect upon their roles. In essence, the participants were able to claim the daughter role, agree that they were acting within this role, but stated that they do not often consider the role or discuss it. According to Berger and Luckmann (1966), there is not a hierarchy, or level of importance, to which role we are reflecting upon, but only the fact that when we reflect upon a role, that one comes to the surface of our cognition. "'Surface' and 'under-the-surface' selves are differentiated only in terms of the range of subjective reality present to consciousness in any given moment, not in terms of a permanent differentiation of 'layers' of the self" (p. 184). I saw this with adult daughters in this study and I want to make an

important distinction here. Daughters claim the role of adult daughter and execute it, but this role stays under-the-surface for the most part, due in part to the borrowed language they use for describing these role behaviors, as well as a societal arrangement that limits the ways women discuss this role, not giving it any considerable amount of recognition or praise.

It is likely difficult for daughters to explain daughtering due to a lack of descriptive statements common to the topic (i.e. tropes). Mothers are known for mothering. But what are daughters known for? Without readily accessible language for describing this complex system of meaning, the culture of daughterhood becomes obscured from everyday talk. Over time, this work that is completely done by women has been deleted from observation. Thus, there exists a hidden culture of daughtering. In this case, it is not a secret nor is it intentionally private.

However, daughtering is obfuscated by observations of other roles or dominance of those roles in everyday life (i.e. mothering), rendering the daughtering experience mostly uncredited. One possible theoretical explanation for this buried role is the muted group theory. This theory was first introduced by Ardener (1975), who proposed that women were being silenced because the dominant group, comprised of men, refused to acknowledge the language of the lower-power women in a patriarchal society. Since the introduction of this theory, it has also been applied to within-group differences between women, often by race, sex, or class (McNaughtan, 2012). So this may not be an example of a patriarchal suppression of a women's issue, but rather a power differential within-group, where women mute other women. Or perhaps, mothers, as the higher-power group, suppress the language of daughters and thus obscure the work of daughtering.

This latter interpretation also fits with Cirksena & Cuklanz's (1992) theory of dualisms which suggests that society subconsciously forms language dualisms (such as

female/male) and then decides which position to value over the other. In this case, the dualism of mother/daughter has created a privileging of the mother position over the daughter. This does not come as a surprise if we consider the amount of words available to articulate the mothering experience, the pop-culture images of mothering, and even the scholarly literature on mothers compared with the availability of all the same sources in reference to daughters. As a result of this uncredited activity, daughters exist as a community of women who do not realize they are collectively doing the work of daughtering because there is little appreciation for their efforts (note: daughters earn more recognition when they begin caretaking elderly parents later in life and there is also an emerging sense of community as these caretakers offer support for one another).

Daughters do not often have occasion to reflect upon the role of an adult daughter, but when in a situation that requires daughtering, they know what to do. Meaning-making, learning, and knowledge creation is a social endeavor, and daughters have been learning about this role over their entire lifetime. Wenger (1998) describes social learning thusly:

> It is a perspective that locates learning, not in the head or outside it, but in the relationship between the person and the world, which for human beings is a social person in a social world. In this relation of participation, the social and the individual constitute each other (p. 1).

As a daughter participates in a daughterhood all of her life, she practices being a daughter when she sees how her mother daughters her grandmother. She learns from those around her and acts on this knowledge, recreating these behaviors, thereby reifying the social order. As daughters experience instances of daughtering, like those from the sources that participants in this sample identified (Chapter 5 themes), the role of adult daughter is constructed, supported, and reified, but not necessarily named. To further explore the idea of daughters participating in an un-named, un-catalogued, yet prevalent role and

community, here I extend the use of a construct created by Lave and Wenger (1991) to explain what they call *practice-level* awareness.

Communities of practice

Conceiving of daughters performing daughtering behaviors within a community, or daughterhood, is not such a far-fetched possibility. Such an uncredited community experience has been examined before. According to Lave and Wenger (1991), learning about one's place in the world is not only a cognitive endeavor, but situated within the community wherein it is formed and organized, called *Communities of Practice*. A daughterhood is, in essence, a community of practice in that daughters absorb how to daughter by learning from the community they participate in, even if it is done unknowingly. This construct was originally used to describe workplace interactions and the manner in which workers understand how to behave in an organization. However, it is appropriate in this interpersonal context as it aids understanding of how a role can be understood and enacted, but rests in the periphery of a daughter's awareness.

When a daughter exhibits behaviors appropriate for a given social group and social sphere, she may not be consciously triggering daughtering behaviors, but instead behaving with a practice-level awareness of her role.

> This meaning-making person is not just a cognitive entity. It is a whole person, with a body, a heart, a brain, relationships, aspirations, all the aspects of human experience, all involved in the negotiation of meaning. The experience of the person in all these aspects is actively constituted, shaped, and interpreted through learning. Learning is not just acquiring skills and information; it is becoming a certain person—a knower in a context where what it means to know is negotiated with respect to the regime of competence of a community (Wenger, 1998, p. 2).

We can think of daughters learning their role within a community of practice; thus daughters are absorbing messages through continued interaction with role peers, absorbing the essence of daughtering over a lifespan. "Such a view sees mind, culture, history, and

the social interrelated processes that constitute each other" (Lave, 1991). Daughterhood membership begins at birth and continues even if one's mother leaves or has died. Daughtering, learned through a social system, is not only what one receives from her mother, but what she gives, and also what she considers giving in the future.

Communities of practice may all look very different, but have three things in common (wenger-trayner.com, 2011). The first criterion is that a Community of Practice must have a domain where, "members are brought together by a learning need they share (whether this shared learning need is explicit or not and whether learning is the motivation for their coming together or a by-product of it)" (para 3). A domain must not be a physical space or indicate expertise over a topic. Simply, a shared domain indicates a common interest and competence for an activity and that brings the community together (Wenger-Trayner, 2011). Daughters exhibit this shared domain with their commitment toward daughtering, as all participants in this study indicated they do, in some manner. "They value their collective competence and learn from each other, even though few people outside the group may value or even recognize their expertise" (Wenger-Trayner & Wenger-Trayner, 2015, p. 2). Daughters meet this requirement in that they learn from one another, value the practice of other daughters, and yet are not given any particular status or an expertise valuation for the adult daughter role.

The second criterion for a Community of Practice is that there is a community, where "their collective learning becomes a bond among them over time (experienced in various ways and thus not a source of homogeneity)" (wenger-trayner.com, 2011, para. 3). In a community, members share interests, but do not necessarily work in concert or meet with any established frequency. Daughters are a community in the sense that they learn from each other, interact and discuss the ways they interact with their mothers, which I have labeled daughtering. Following Anderson's notions of Imagined Communities,

discussed earlier, it is apparent that daughters function as a daughterhood of community members.

Finally, the third criterion for a Community of Practice is that members practice, meaning "their interactions produce resources that affect their practice (whether they engage in actual practice together or separately)" (wenger-trayner.com, 2011, para. 3). As a reminder, Ruddick (1989) described the work of mothering as a practice and a discipline, which I extend to the practice of daughtering. In this way, members of Communities of Practice are practitioners and develop resources, which are anything from tools and strategies to stories which form a repertoire for practicing within this community (Wenger-Trayner & Wenger-Trayner, 2015). The narratives gathered from participants and the themes presented in Chapter 5 illustrate the stories and tools that women use to daughter while also participating in a daughterhood. The role of daughter, considered as a resource and cultural object, according to Callero (1994), is nestled in a social system and bolstered by symbolic meaning.

Role of the Adult Daughter

Though participants in this study did not display a strong cognitive awareness of the role of the adult daughter and their own daughtering behaviors, they were easily able to participate in meaning-making activities on this topic and describe daughtering role behaviors when I asked them to do so. Though other roles are more clearly defined in our society (mother, friend, wife), the way daughters understand their roles follows the perspective of Bourdieu (1977) who stated that roles are not just existing structures that cause meaning, but a social space that help people map possible behaviors, with meaning as an outcome of participation in role behaviors. This lens for describing daughtering is a perspective missing from existing literature and research being conducted with adult

daughters. Not only are daughters independent role enactors, but the collective daughterhood community creates and reifies the expectations for common or average daughtering. Roles are claimed before an action, which then allows an actor to establish social structures in a given interaction (Callero, 1994). The notion of the daughter role begins in a young girl, but changes over time as her relationship with her mother matures. The role of adult daughter is different from a child-daughter or elder-caretaker-daughter. The nuances of this position, which exists for an extensive period in an adult female's life, are complex and contradictory. That is not an issue, according to the logic of Bourdieu, who believed that situational, dispositional, and positional spaces of practice do not form a coherent picture (Pouliot, 2012). These elements are part of Bourdieu's practice theory which describes how actions (practices) are interpreted based on the field in which they are played and acknowledges the various complexities of the players in the social space (Bourdieu, 1977; Pouliot, 2012).

Linking the ideas of habituation and communities of practice, a clearer picture of what it means to be an adult daughter emerges. Daughters are members of an uncatalogued collective, but know how to do their roles based on habituation to membership in a long-standing community of practice. Using this role involves claiming a cultural standing, which then guides a daughter's behavior and her understanding of what it means—indeed, what is expected—of her as an adult daughter. All told, what is expected of an adult daughter takes a tremendous amount of effort.

Located not only in cultural spaces and within role prescriptions, the work of daughtering is often overlooked as labor. Other Cases of hidden or invisible efforts have been described in the literature over the past 30 years (Di Leonardo, 1987; Sinedart & Mortelmans, 2009). Kin work, as discussed briefly in Chapter 4, has long been described, in scholarly works, as overlooked, invisible, and hidden.

> Although the social regulation of emotions is brought about through emotional labour, as a form of labour it appears to be insulated from other forms of labour, and is poorly recorded and under-explored. It is my contention that this is precisely because it involves both women and 'emotion' with their negative connotations. Because emotional labour is seen as 'natural', unskilled women's work, because it is unpaid and because it is obscured by the privacy of the domestic domain where much of it takes place, the significance of its contribution and value in social reproduction is ignored (James, 1989, p. 22).

Using this literature and the results of this study, we can better understand, in the words of adult daughters, what it is like to be a daughter in the world today. It is an undervalued, but rich endeavor characterized by a myriad of expectations and considerations of familial obligations.

As I analyzed the data from this study, I was initially uncertain how to describe participants' flimsy identification as daughters and as members of a daughterhood while still having rather well formulated notions of the expectations for themselves and the role. However, I believe Goffman's work on social identities may help frame these results. According to Goffman, as a means of categorizing participants in a society, members create anticipations for attributes to ascribe to individuals based on the social setting. We then "lean on these anticipations that we have transforming them into normative expectations, into righteously presented demands" (Goffman, 1963, p. 2). We are usually unaware of these demands until a light is shined upon them or if we encounter a possibility that they might not be fulfilled. Goffman calls these demands made "in effect" about who the person "ought" to be in a virtual social identity as opposed to the attributes this person actually possesses, called her actual social identity (1963). Of roles, Goffman says

> To embrace a role is to disappear completely into the virtual-self available in the situation, to be fully seen in terms of the image, and to confirm expressively one's acceptance of it. To embrace a role is to be embraced by it (Goffman, 1961).

One's personal identity is a fluid understanding, created through interacting and overlapping behaviors, which includes role behaviors (Galvin, Braithwaite, & Bylund,

2004). Social identities can be either ascribed, characteristics that others assume to be true about you, or avowed, group affiliations that one feels belonging to. Reference groups are social entities that one can draw avowed identities from. Participants in this study discussed all three of these cases. Not only do daughters have an understanding of their own specific relationship with their mothers, but they have ideas about the daughterhood community they belong to, learned over a long time from pop culture and their reference groups of acquaintances, family, and friends. The ideas of community and society live in the heads of daughters and these ideas inform role behaviors.

When Shay spoke about watching her friends with their mothers at a wedding or heard stories of a birth experience without the mom in the hospital room, she was judging the ascribed identities of those daughters. However, when she described herself as a daughter, she discussed her avowed identity as a daughter to her mother. Participants' reference for daughtering included representations in the media, friends, family, and even their mothers' behavior as daughters to the participants' grandmothers. Though these identities are clearly present, the discussion of roles was a difficult one to conceptualize. Recall the work of Rittenour and Colaner (2012) who found that personal identity as a mother and her role behaviors as a motherhood is linked to how she feels about herself and her life. Their study focused exclusively on mothers of college-aged daughters in their study of identities as predictors of women's satisfaction. The authors established two types of identities for inquiry: role-based identities and morality-based identities. Using survey responses from 113 participants, the authors evaluated mothering-identity, which the authors operationalized as a role-based identity. Personal identity is created through interacting and overlapping behaviors, including roles (Galvin, Braithwaite, & Bylund, 2004). Findings indicated that increased mothering-identity heightened the relationship between generativity—which is a conscious concern for the next generation—and life

satisfaction overall (Rittenour & Colaner, 2012). The authors said this link between how a woman defines her identity in terms of her role behaviors as a mother is related to how she feels about herself and her life. Studies like this show a need for understanding role behaviors of women, not only how roles impact identity, because it is linked to how they feel about themselves.

Though the present study did not ask about identities, it is a ripe avenue for future research. I earlier noted a goal to understand how the adult daughter role is acquired or shed, performed or maintained. What clearly resonates from this study: 1) Daughters know about daughtering, but not in a way they can easily articulate their understanding of it and 2) Daughters participate in a daughterhood, but do not give it a high valuation of salience in their lives in order to be able to articulate their place within it. In sum, the social world of the adult daughter is active, but daughters' awareness of it is meager. What can daughters gain from a better understanding of these features? A better understanding of their role and the prevalence of its application throughout their friends and acquaintances as well as a supportive community of other adult daughters on whom to lean when questions or concerns arise. Acknowledging that one's peers are performing the same labors could allow for greater social support for daughtering endeavors. Perhaps, in turn, this may impact the well-being of daughters in their everyday lives.

Of course, a discussion of demands and norms that constitute virtual social identities (Goffman, 1963) must also discuss typification schemes, as described by Berger and Luckmann (1966). We use typification schemes—standard schemes of meaning created through repeated interactions with other—to economize mental effort. Daughters have internalized previously established norms for daughtering and mothering and use these to anticipate role behaviors, saving mental time by acting on previously acquired wisdom to guide interactions. The difference between Goffman's virtual social identities

and the typification schemes described by Berger and Luckmann is the emphasis on identity by the former and roles by the latter. “Social structure is the sum total of these typifications and of the recurrent patterns of interaction established by means of them. As such, social structure is an essential element of the reality of everyday life” (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). This means that role conception for daughters is not just a question of who she is, but what she does, her daughtering practices. After analyzing these data, I believe daughters know who they are—members of a community of daughters—and they know what to do, for the most part, when asked to think about the topic. However, it is not a topic they frequently have occasion to consider or discuss. Of course, whether daughters like doing the work of daughtering is another question. However, this awareness is buried, not off-the-top-of-my-head or tip-of-the-tongue knowledge. It exists in the deeper layers of cognitive understanding of her roles, although the daughtering role may gain importance in her life as she ages into a caregiver role later in life.

Changes in roles can be understood to have dimensional layers, such as Role Expectations, Role Enactment, and Role Negotiation, according to Stamp (1994) in his study of new parents’ role transitions. Roles do not exist as objective structures, but only in relation between role players (Stamp, 1994). The nature of roles, therefore, changes over time. Because the daughter’s role is continuous over a lifetime, there is a dynamic of continued change as both dyadic partners age. These changes are constituted in the everyday conversations and interactions of mothers and daughters, not necessarily giant shifts within the relationship. These everyday moments contribute to daughters’ understanding of their social world, altering and sustaining the typificatory schemes that daughters create to understand daughtering (Berger & Luckmann, 1966).

Callero recommends redefining roles as “cultural objects,” which is a resource perspective of roles that can explain the differences between roles and identities (1994):

> When roles are used as a resource to define self and other, I believe it is conceptually appropriate to refer to such roles as identities. Yet roles as resources are not synonymous with identities because they have other, nonidentity uses and are available as cultural objects independent of one's personal identity claim (p. 239).

Roles, when considered as cultural objects, are "real, objective, meaningful features of the social world," similar to a tangible object one can manipulate. However, a role must pass the test of being "recognized, accepted, and used to accomplish pragmatic interactive goals in a community" (Callero, 1994, p. 232). Roles also have "a symbolic or cognitive reality" that make them "available in a generalized manner to the community as a whole. Through their use, they aid in the construction of social action, a feature basic to the argument that roles are employed as resources" (p. 232). This viewpoint supports that of Berger and Luckmann (1966) who say that roles are created by typification schemes which are the building blocks or a social world. But, Callero urges that roles not be taken lightly. He says "the definition of role as a cultural object clearly suggests that roles are much more than a bundle of expectations. Roles are as complex or as simple as the cultural meaning of the object" (p. 232). The data from this study recommend consideration of the adult daughter role as a cultural object that can be manipulated by the role actor. The potential application for the considering the adult daughter role as a tool is a better understanding of how the adult daughter role functions to maintain families and social networks.

Such a stance answers the request of Callero (1994) who urged role-theorists to acknowledge the dual nature of a social structure and the active nature of the role-player. "Society consists of both powerful, determining structures and actors that possess a degree of efficacy, freedom, and creative independence" (Callero, 1994, p. 228). The women who participated in this study, to whatever extent they fulfill it, have derived a role that they use as a guide for doing daughtering behaviors with their mothers. This finding, that the adult daughter role is indeed a unique family role, supports interactional role theory. As stated

by Turner (2001), interactional role theorists assume that given individuals may act or feel quite differently in different situations and that otherwise different individuals may behave similarly in similar situations (p. 233). Though they do not necessarily daughter their mothers in a coordinated way with other daughters, the participants in this study all said that they are doing similar things. Daughters are expressing a socially derived role that they understand to be appropriate for an adult daughter. Like a snowball, these ideas gather slowly over time, gaining salience in a daughter's life when the context for using this information becomes prominent. Interactional role theory assumes that patterning of behaviors arise out of interactions with others, giving rise to a social organizational framework (Turner, 2001, p. 234). Daughters' ideas about their role are learned from sources embedded in their social network and enacted as a daughterhood community. Thus, the exploration of the adult daughter role in this study confirms interactional role theory and extends our understanding of the adult daughter role. The following section describes how daughters decide to use role knowledge for daughtering their mothers and how the outcome of this behavior relates to their life satisfaction.

THEME 6: DAUGHTERS ALL DO DAUGHTERING

The themes I presented in Chapters 4 and 5 described daughters' conceptions of role expectations and their origins. Though daughters know, implicitly and explicitly, many of these expectations, they make a choice whether or not to exhibit role behaviors to meet these expectations. There are many disjunctures in role perception and enactment when daughters describe the right way to daughter one's mother versus what they say daughters actually do. Here I have gathered some key examples of daughters' explanations of how they manage their understanding of the daughtering role, balancing their understanding of what they ought to do against their personal desire to do it. This theme shows how

daughters described choosing to fulfill (or not fulfill) these expectations, justified that behavior (if necessary), and felt about the congruence or incongruence of daughter-role expectations and daughter-role enactment. What I show here, is that daughters can daughter their mothers in a variety of ways, but can all still be said to be performing daughtering.

Following this, I offer a matrix for understanding the nature of daughtering in terms of presumptively productive and destructive daughtering behaviors versus functionally productive or destructive daughtering. Future research in this area can explore how socially acceptable daughtering overlaps enjoyable daughtering experiences.

Yes, I'm doing it

I asked each participant if she was doing everything she thought she ought to be doing as an adult daughter. The first subset of participant responses included those who answered, yes, they are meeting these expectations.

Doing it, happy.

Within that group, the first subset includes those daughters who are doing what they ought, and are happy to do it. Amy told me that she is doing everything she should be doing as a daughter and that it is "easy" for daughters to do what they ought to do. However, she also said that her sister is not doing the right daughtering things and that "Some of us get it and some of us don't, I guess." For Amy, the way to fulfill daughter responsibilities is clear and not very difficult to do. What is perplexing to Amy is why other people would not do something that she considers to be so easy. Amy made a clear distinction, though, that not fulfilling all daughtering duties does not have to mean those mothers and daughters have a bad rapport or that someone is a bad daughter.

> It's not that they don't have a good relationship because they still do but I feel like they don't give their 100% like they should. I feel like that's where it's lacking. They may only give 40% when in all reality, family deserves 100%.

This example from Amy shows not only her expectations, as described in the first three themes from chapter 4, but also her understanding of how one ought to fulfill a daughtering role. Other daughters describe themselves as doing everything they are supposed to be doing and congratulating themselves on a job well done. When I asked Janie if she is doing everything she should be doing in the daughter role, she responded, "Yeah. I am sure that is from my perspective. Yeah. I think I am pretty awesome daughter, man! Just saying!" Even though Janie earlier described her relationship as strained, then later said anyone would be lucky to have her mom, Janie sees no contradiction in saying these things or in describing herself as an "awesome daughter" in her self-appraisal. There is a kind of beauty in these contradictions. For Janie, words like "strained," "lucky," "conflict," and "awesome" can co-exist in a description about her role and the relationship she has with her mother.

Shay, like several participants, gave a casual yet confident response. I asked her what the difference is between the expectations her mom has and those she has for herself. She replied, "I don't know. I feel they're pretty much the same. I mean I feel that she is not expecting any more than what I am giving and I feel I am giving to her a good amount." In this answer, Shay also described that she adequately meets the perceived daughtering expectations, noting that she "gives a good amount" and her mom is not expecting anything more. Elisa said something similar when I asked if she is doing everything she should as a daughter:

> Probably for this time in our life, yeah. I can't be there for her much more than I already am. I do worry about later when she is not able to take care of herself, what our relationship is going to be like because I think it's going to be a lot harder.

This answer reflects that the amount of daughtering, in Elisa's conception, is malleable to the time period and situation of their lives. Daughters can be satisfied with their current

amount of daughtering while also acknowledging times they have done less or anticipation of doing more in the future.

Doing it, not happy.

Another subset of daughters indicated that they are meeting the perceived expectations of the daughtering role, but, in doing so, are not very happy about it. For example, Caroline described the emotions that she feels when she talks to her mother on the phone. Caroline feels obligated to listen to her widowed mother and emotionally support her, which she said is even more challenging because they live in different states. Caroline identified that her mother's desired amount of support and connection in day-to-day terms is overwhelming and requires more daughtering than she would prefer to perform.

> I've explained to [my husband] the guilt that I have where, it's like, I talk to my mom on the phone more often than I want to. And I don't want her to *ever* feel like she is a burden. But that doesn't mean I always want to. I mean, I make that clear to him, it's like, "Hey, I don't really want to talk about the fact that I don't want to help my mom, but just so you know, this isn't easy." Like, that's, I will say things like that. "It's not easy." He's like, "I know." And he'll say, "I know." Because I don't want to complain about doing things with or for my mom. But I will just say, "It's not easy." Yes. He just kind of knows that. I just feel like it's a character thing. It's particularly with my mom. And I just feel so bad for her that she doesn't have more people that love her. And then to think, the person that she feels loves her the most, or the person that should love her the most, is the person who actually, like, groans when the phone rings. Like, I don't want it to be like that. So I actively try to have my attitude be such that, I don't complain or grumble about doing loving things that daughters should do. But I will say it's not always easy.

Caroline shows how she does the expected daughtering behaviors like phone calls, but experiences complex emotions when she does it. She feels badly that her expectations and desires do not match those of her mother's, which could result in her mother not having the desired amount of support. However, to avoid this, Caroline forces herself to behave in

ways that make her life difficult. Caroline feels guilty that her mother is lonely, but also wishes that she was not the only one available to fulfill those needs. However, with the support of her husband, Caroline puts a lot of effort into adequately daughtering, to the extent that Caroline does not think her mother even knows what a burden it is to her.

> I would say…I find it to be very complicated and stressful although my mother would not perceive it that way. I think that- my father passed away about three years ago, and being that she's in [northeastern state] and I'm in [southeastern state]- that makes it very difficult to feel like I can support her and be the person that she can sound off to when she comes home from work, things that are on her mind. And I can feel guilty that she doesn't have more support there. She's by herself. I have no other siblings, so she's, ya know, really on her own.

Though she states that her mother is "on her own," Caroline makes extraordinary efforts so that her mother does not feel that way if possible. Fulfilling daughtering requirements—doing as one "ought"—according to social expectations can be managed in many ways, with varying outcomes. Some daughters say that, yes, they are meeting all daughtering expectations. Others, presented in the following section, are not.

No, I'm not doing it

Another group of participants told me that they are not doing everything they believe that they ought to be doing. Within this group, some daughters indicated that they were happy with this level of activity. Others, however, were not doing what they believed they ought to do as a daughter and were unhappy as a result.

Not doing it, happy.

This group of participants told me that they know they are not doing all of the daughtering that they perceive to be the right amount. However, despite this acknowledgement of missing the mark, they are, in fact, quite happy about that level of daughtering. Jenny put it this way, "In the context of the relationship between my mother

and I…yes. In the context of what it could be, no." I asked Jenny to explain what she meant by "could be" and she told me:

> If we were different people, we would have a different relationship and there is a whole lot more interaction and engagement and involvement that could happen but it's just not possible…..I don't know that I am the daughter that the world expects me to be but I am the daughter for who I am and who she is. I think that I am not ashamed of my behavior or my interactions by any means but I think I could do more but I don't feel bad that I am not doing more. Does that make sense?

In Jenny's case, she acknowledges that other adult daughters may do more and that she could possibly do more, but since she and her mother are both satisfied with Jenny's level of daughtering, there is no need to believe there is an inadequacy present. Ellie, also described herself as not quite performing daughtering up to her mother's standards. I asked Ellie if she thought her mother was satisfied with Ellie's level of daughtering and she said:

> Like 90%. I think she still just secretly wishes I was straight. I think that would have been the icing on the cake. I have always been a good kid. I've made straight A's. I went to [university], did really well in school. I've been really successful. Because she is very religious, I was very religious. All of that is great just minus the whole gay thing. So, I think, [I'm] something like 90%, I think, in her eyes.

Ellie believes the reason she is not daughtering perfectly is, at least in part, due to the fact that she is gay and her mom still considers "the gay thing" problematic. However, because Ellie is happily married and secure in her identity as a lesbian, she has no plans to behave in ways her mother would require to fulfill 100% of her daughtering expectations. This group of daughters who are not fulfilling all of the expectations but are happy with their actions represent a very self-aware and confident group that acknowledge their own individuation from their mothers. They place their own happiness high on the list of priorities.

Not doing it, not happy.

In the final subset of participant responses, I found that some daughters are not fulfilling the daughter role as they believe they ought, and that is accompanied by negative emotions and unhappiness about their daughtering abilities. For Anna, when I asked her if she is doing all she should do as a daughter, she said, "Yes and no. I'm always on the fence. That's the hard part. I always have one foot in my culture and I always have one foot out of it." Anna talked quite a bit about her upward mobility and how economic advantages brought familial consequences. This example, perhaps more than any other, serves to demonstrate that daughters are a community amongst themselves, with co-cultures such as those from their nationality, ethnicity, or other life circumstances like marriage and motherhood.

Debbie struggled to answer this question and identify the appropriate level of daughtering that she ought to give her mother. It was apparent that she has wrestled with this issue before. I asked her if she is doing everything she should be doing and Debbie said:

> I don't know! I have talked to a couple of pastors and some other ladies and I think at this point what I am doing is probably the healthiest all around because I can't enable her behavior to continue to try to take precedence over my own nuclear family. My husband has to come first. I think at this point I am doing probably what I should be doing.

Debbie's response sounded like she was attempting to convince herself as she explained it to me. Because the topic of fulfilling the daughtering role was new to many participants in this study, some defining and meaning-making was occurring on the spot.

I identified multiple discourses about the practice of daughtering and how participants conceive of their responsibilities for acting on this knowledge. Some daughters identified they are indeed doing everything they "should" be doing as an adult daughter. Among these, some were satisfied with their behaviors while others were feeling

overburdened. On the other hand, several participants identified that they are not doing everything they "should" in their role as adult daughters to their mothers. Among these women, some were satisfied with this choice, prioritizing their desires over their mothers'. Still others were left feeling guilty because they were not meeting the perceived expectations of what they "ought" to be doing. This area, more than any other, seems ripe for further investigation into links among other characteristics of the samples. Additional information on future research will be discussed further in Chapter 7.

Review of Theme 6 and A proposed matrix

On the topic of adult daughters, we have literature on obligation (i.e. Rossi & Rossi, 1990) and on emotional labor (i.e. Hochschild, 1979), kin work (Di Leonardo, 1987) well-being for daughters (i.e. Horstman et al, 2015), but what I found in this study is that daughtering is some combination of all of these. Thus, I have created a matrix, below, to begin to understand the interplay of the various components within the nature of daughtering.[5] This matrix of daughtering is conceived as a function of two conceptual dimensions: 1) normatively and socially acceptable versus normatively and socially unacceptable daughtering, and 2) functionally productive versus functionally destructive emotions about daughtering.

The first conceptual dimension represents the extent to which daughtering behaviors are acceptable to society. The second conceptual dimension represents the extent to which daughtering is functional and worthwhile to the daughters doing it. Through this lens, four quadrants are mapped for what daughters understand to be socially appropriate (presumptively/normatively acceptable or unacceptable) and how they feel as a result

[5] The proposed model is based off of one used by Spitzberg and Cupach (2007) to visualize the various ways to conceptualize 'the dark side' of interpersonal communication.

(functionally productive/destructive) (see Figure 1). The four quartiles represent the subsets presented above: Those doing daughtering as they perceive they ought and are happy about it, those doing daughtering as they perceive they ought and are *not* happy about it, those *not* doing daughtering as they perceive they ought and are happy about it, and those *not* doing daughtering as they perceive they ought and are *not* happy about it. Within this matrix, it is clear to see there are many forms of daughtering with a variety of outcomes for performing it.

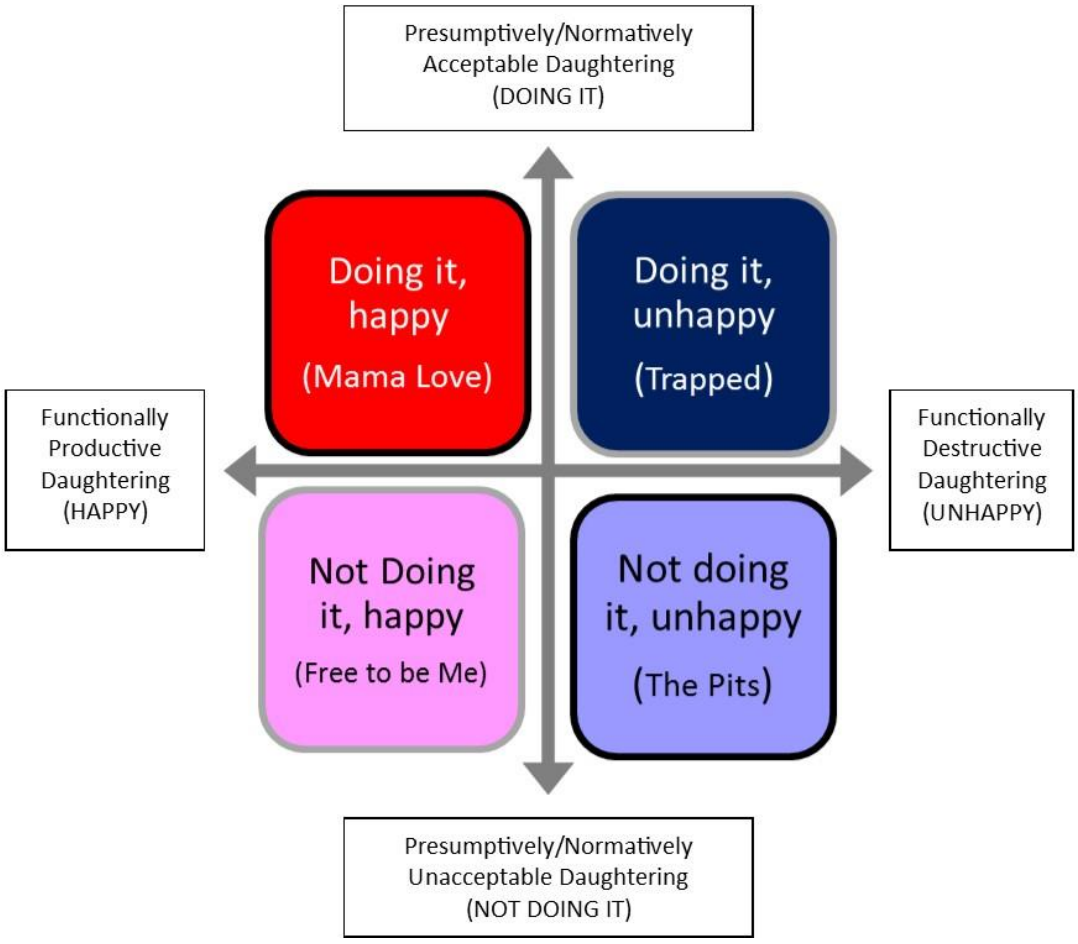

Figure 1. Daughtering matrix. This figure illustrates the possible ways one can daughter her mother with the x axis showing how happy a daughter is and the y axis showing to what extent she is daughtering.

The participants of this study indicated that they have an understanding of society's expectations of daughtering, but that they do not always choose to behave thusly. This matrix shows the many ways that daughters choose to do daughtering and the various outcomes. Quadrant 1, "Mama Love" in red with a black outline (*presumptively acceptable and functionally productive*), illustrates the clichéd normative version of daughtering: she daughters properly and enjoys it. Quadrant 3, "The Pits" in light blue with a black outline (*presumptively unacceptable and functionally destructive*), characterizes the daughter who is failing her mother and herself. Two areas that get less attention, but deserve to be further explored are quadrants 2 and 4, outlined in gray. In the dark blue, quadrant 2 "Trapped," daughtering one's mother adequately with resultant unhappiness is considered by society to be moral or productive, but is deceptively dysfunctional with a daughter who is giving more of herself toward the daughtering endeavor than she is comfortable with. And in the light pink, quadrant 4, "Free to be Me," poor daughtering skills are considered to be unacceptable in society, but paradoxically are functional for this group of daughters, as independence from their mothers is valued in a society. Based on the responses from study participants, I offer this construct as a way to understand that daughtering comes in a variety of shapes and sizes, but all exist as the same role behavior. Considering daughtering in all its forms can ultimately lead to new considerations about relationships, relational processes, and family systems research.

By and large, daughtering needs to be considered as active behaviors performed by women for a variety of reasons and resulting in myriad outcomes. There is no right or wrong way to daughter. There is no ideal daughter. What that means is that any kind of daughtering can be considered as daughtering and examined for its impact on interpersonal relationships. In future discussions of adult daughter, I seek "an acceptance that all social

processes unfold in ways that produce both gains and losses, and gains that appear to be losses and losses that appear to be gains" (Spitzberg & Cupach, 2007).[6]

In this chapter I explored the various ways that the role of the adult daughter is socially constructed. I extended the concept of Communities of Practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991) to describe how daughters learn role expectations in a habituated fashion, but without a surface-level awareness of the role. The final theme of participant responses demonstrated that there are many ways to daughter one's mother and daughters often struggle with contradictions between what they believe they ought to do versus what they actually desire to do for their mothers. Adult daughters use the knowledge and sense-making about their adult daughter role to make decisions about their personal interactions with their mothers. I proposed a matrix for interpreting the various ways daughtering may be expressed. The women in this study described that the role of adult daughter, to whatever extent they choose to fulfill it, is derived from a social world around them. Daughters use their community of a daughterhood to guide their role behaviors in daughtering interactions. Though perhaps daughtering is not done in a coordinated manner, it is done *in community with* other daughters. The participants of this study demonstrated that they all have an understanding of the role of adult daughter and share it.

[6] Spitzberg and Cupach (2007), however, were describing future inquiry on the dark side of interpersonal communication and the many forms that make up "bright" or "dark" communication, but the same phrasing relates here.

Chapter 7: Summary

There's always going to be that hierarchy. –Janie

OVERVIEW

This study of adult daughters' communication examined talk from both theoretical and practical lenses. Although most academic scholarship has focused on the extraordinary events—things that occur one or two times in a lifetime (e.g., specific events like giving birth) or do not happen to everyone (e.g., transitions such as marriage/divorce)—what has yet to be parsed out is the nature of communication/talk about the adult daughter role itself. This study reveals a missing piece of the puzzle in current research descriptions of the roles of daughters. Existing literature has primarily focused on major life events like marriage, childbearing, illness, and caretaking, especially in populations of younger or older adult daughters. This study fills a gap in the current literature by taking a deeper look at the meaning-making of daughters about the role of an adult daughter in midlife. Interactional role theory guided this exploratory investigation into the everyday talk of adult daughters about their roles in relation to their mothers while in mid-life, a time when both parties are independent and healthy. This theoretical approach assumes that roles are not simply imposed on an individual, as structural theorists might suggest, but that roles arise out of interaction with others within a social organizational framework. (Turner, 2001). Roles are claimed, not imposed, and guide behaviors within a given interaction. When we consider the role of adult daughter as a cultural object and from a resource perspective, as described by Callero (1994), it is clear that the participants of this study know of and use the adult daughter role to guide interactions in relation to their mothers. Daughters learn this role based on a lifetime of practice (Ruddick, 1989). These findings suggested a collective competence for the adult daughter role, which led me to explore the notion of community. A daughterhood may be framed as a Community of Practice; adult daughters are engaged

in the same role practices and share resources, molding and reifying this role through a socially constructed world (Lave & Wenger, 1991).

The current study answers recent calls for interpersonal communication studies that examine the everyday nature of adult daughter and mother bonds with the goal to "'connect the dots' of this relationship over the lifespan" and "focus on how individuals experience their bonds as they develop" (Miller-Day, Fisher, & Stube, 2013, p. 3.). Or as Fingerman and Bermann (2000) put it, scholars must understand how "the family as a system continues to influence adults' day-to-day lives even in the absence of celebration or crises" (p. 6). Taking an everyday approach to the study of communication, this study revealed the role of the adult daughter is both communicatively and socially constructed, and is expressed in various ways while still functioning as the same role. This exploratory study began with these broadly stated research objectives to explore:

- If adult daughters have a sense of role in relation to their mothers and, if so, what they say about the role.
- What daughters say about their everyday role with their mothers and what behaviors constitute daughtering.
- Any expectations adult daughters have for their role as an adult daughter.
- How a daughter's conceptions of daughtering and daughterhood relate to how society says a daughter should behave or communicate with her mother.
- Some of the various ways daughters can differ from one another within the adult daughter role.

To achieve these goals, I interviewed 33 adult daughters between the ages of 25-45 in face-to-face interviews and asked for stories that illustrated daughters' conceptions of roles. The rich data from these interviews provided material that resulted in saturation of six themes.

Results discussed in Chapter 4 highlighted three themes of meaning related to the idea of the daughter role: 1) Daughters struggled to articulate the nature of daughtering and the adult daughter role, 2) Daughters had not yet mindfully considered the adult daughter role, and 3) Despite the challenges that the first two themes create, daughters are actually doing the work of daughtering their mothers. I noted that the labor of daughtering is not well catalogued, which leads to a poor valuation on the work of daughtering. I proposed the following description of daughtering:

Daughtering, in the context of this study, is shown through the many behaviors done by a daughter in relation with her mother to fulfill the social requirements a daughter understands as ascribed or inherent to the role of adult daughter, including the management and avoidance of conflict necessary to maintain a positive—or at least bearable—relationship; protecting herself from possible negative outcomes; considering and managing her mother's emotions (including emotion work and emotional labor); giving respect to her mother and demanding it for her from others; deciding to fulfill or ignore obligations, whether implied or stated; management of closeness or distance within the relationship with her mother inclusive of decisions to include the mother into the daughter's daily activities; the mental work of thinking about her mother's well-being and future care; carrying out kin work including visits, phone calls, social media communication and assisting in the maintenance of extended family relationships; teaching and training her mother in contemporary ideas and methodologies; and eliciting mothering for herself or her family of creation.

In Chapter 5, I presented two themes of meaning related to daughtering expectations: 1) Daughters know there are expectations from society for daughtering, and 2) Daughters evaluate themselves against others. Participant responses showed that daughters are aware there are influences on the adult daughter role from a variety of

sources. Although many participants were initially unaware of participating in a community of daughters doing the same role, responses showed that this is indeed the case as they were able to reflect upon sources for, and impact of, daughtering expectations. I call this community a daughterhood and, based upon participant responses from this study, I proposed the following description of daughterhood:

By daughterhood, I mean the performance of the collective competence of the role of adult daughters, wherein a daughter's participation requirement is as simple as having a mother and maintaining any relationship with her or as complex as meeting the understood demands associated with daughtering, garnered from a variety of sources, while assessing how others are doing it and reifying the role through relational labor; this experience is lived by daughters doing the work of daughtering side by side, whether or not she realizes her participation in a systemic experience of daughtering.

In Chapter 6, I explained how the data from this study can be understood as socially constructed and habituated over a lifetime of experience. I extended Lave and Wenger's (1991) concept of Communities of Practice to explain daughtering experiences and the daughterhood community. Learning about one's role is not a purely cognitive endeavor, but occurs through immersion over time in a community of actors who are demonstrating the proper way to behave in that arena. Adult daughters begin to understand the role of an adult daughter from childhood through observations of other adult daughters. Then, as adults, this role knowledge is revised and reified by observing other adult daughters embodying this role.

Also in Chapter 6, I presented one additional theme of meaning from the data: Daughters decide how to do daughtering and are satisfied or unsatisfied with daughtering their mothers. Based upon this theme, I created a matrix for understanding how to conceive of the various expressions of the same role. This matrix helps describe how it is possible

for an adult daughter to be quite different from another adult daughter yet still be doing the same role. Additionally, this matrix may be used to further investigate characteristics of different daughtering communicative behavior in future studies.

This study arose out of ideas that I have been marinating on for many years and actually provided the basis for returning to graduate school to earn my Ph.D. More than three years ago, I began conducting investigations that eventually became this study. My first study began as an autoethnography, exploring my personal relationship with my mother in comparison to those of study participants. Ultimately, I felt that the autoethnographic method was not adequately supplying the answers to the questions I was interested in, thus I began this study. Though I did not put my story into this report, I have been impacted, not only as a researcher who has grown tremendously through this exploration, but as a daughter to my mother, Pam. She has been my cheerleader and once I introduced her to the term 'daughtering,' began to often tell me how well I was daughtering her on a given occasion. She objectively listened to my 'daughtering' descriptions, even the parts that might make a mother defensive, and offered suggestions that informed the final depiction. Overall, she has affirmed for me that daughtering is a real thing and that she appreciates what I do for her in my role as an adult daughter.

During the process of this study, I was also aware of my own membership in the group under study and my own similarities to the participants, many of whom are friends or acquaintances. As such, these women were, most likely, participating in the study to help me personally achieve a goal. I wanted all of the women who participated in the study to feel comfortable speaking to me, but with friends I had to negotiate how to act the part of a researcher who wanted honest answers and insights. My demeanor was different from our regular encounters as I emphasized that they tell me everything as if I hadn't heard anything of their family history before, but I also attempted to still be warm and friendly

to elicit rich data. This was occasionally awkward at the beginning of an interview, as if, for example, I went to the bank where my friend works and asked her for a loan; the mix of friendship and business is tricky, but we both agreed to play the parts. I've also met the mothers of five participants before or since our interviews. That kind of access to context, relationship history, or my personal interactions with the mothers probably informed my impressions of the participant, though I made my best attempts at separating our interview from other knowledge. Though I cannot fragment myself into researcher-self and friend-self, or create an objective viewpoint for analyzing the data, I can say that I kept the intention of separating myself from outside knowledge of participants, in spirit if not to the letter.

Even when I did not know the participant prior to our meeting, I was aware of my membership in the group under study and sometimes felt silly asking a daughter a question for which the answer seemed obvious to me, but only because of my group membership and not because the response was common knowledge. In those moments, I made myself ask the question so that the response was part of the data. As I change and grow in my role in the future, that response will stay recorded in the audio file and transcript for analysis later, even while my own impressions and opinions will change along with the rest of the group. In a way, I was allowing daughters to say what I already personally felt in order to archive an experience as well as to hear it articulated in the participant's own words so as not to presume that we are the same just because we are similar. These and other limitations are further discussed in the section that follows.

LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Limitations

The results of this, and any, study should be interpreted while keeping in mind its limitations. Potential sampling issues, measurement issues and the exclusion of mothers' and fathers' perspectives are three categories of limitations for this study. These will be discussed in detail below.

The sample for this exploratory study was relatively homogenous, including mostly participants who identified as White, followed by White-Hispanic, African-American, and Native American. In addition, most participants reported that they were financially well off (i.e. All had jobs or were choosing not to work and were supported by their partners). Furthermore, sexual orientation and religion were not requested on the Participant Profile sheet, so although these details were offered up by a few, I do not have a comprehensive list that might yield information on how these variables could impact daughtering, if at all. Other than three participants listed above, I am uncertain of sexual orientation for the remaining 30 interviewees and did not take lack of discussion to mean that participants identified as heterosexual. Therefore, I did not analyze results based on sexual orientation or sex of a participant's partner. Because the participant pool included just 33 participants, the variety and range of participant demographics was limited. The women in this study were all aged 25-45 and had a living mother aged 70 or younger at the time of our interview. I do not suggest, however, that daughtering looks the same in every country, culture, or community and thus the results of this study should be considered within the context I have described.

I interviewed each participant just once, thus this study is not longitudinal. Though longitudinal data would be ideal for understanding an adult daughter's role changes over time, this study contributes to understanding a diverse age group of women covering a span

of ages from 25-45. Three participants contacted me via social media after our interviews to tell me something that continued to resonate after our interview. This may have been because we were already acquainted and connected on social media, therefore these participants not only had reflections on our interview, but likely wanted to encourage me as a friend as well.

One participant continued to 'bump' my Facebook post to the top of the page, helping solicit participants for this study for two weeks following our interview. Though she never reached out to me directly, I took this to mean that she continued to think about our interaction and was encouraging other daughters to participate. These responses indicate how rich a follow-up interaction with study participants can be. As I noted, many participants were engaging in the meaning-making process about daughtering for the first time. All were hearing the words *daughtering* and *daughterhood* for the first time. A follow-up interview could explore if subsequent interactions with their mothers changed their conceptions of daughtering or if the participants had further insights after taking time for mental reflection on these new ideas. Certainly it would be helpful for understanding roles to compare the various sources of influence for role creation and maintenance to understand the salience of each. For instance, are the expectations of friends more salient than those of films? A better understanding of the salience of role influences will help further explore how obligations and expectations shape a daughter's role. A study like this can lend itself to practical implications for daughters' role-modeling and the likelihood of messages tailored to promoting a language for discussing daughtering to reach the appropriate audience.

All interviewees volunteered to meet with me, therefore I do not know if daughters who did not desire to meet with me for an interview may hold widely different views. Also, all participants had a living mother. Therefore, I did not include participant stories from

those daughters who did not have a mother to discuss (whether their mothers were absent for their whole lives or just a portion). I asked all participants to respond thinking of on any woman they considered to be their mother, and I focused on the participant's primary mother figure. I had more than one participant tell me about her mother and also briefly mention a "birth mother," meaning these participants identified more than one mother, at least biologically. Such could be the case for other participants as well, but I did not ask this explicitly. Finally, I did not limit the sample to women with spouses and children and therefore did not include these variables in my analysis. It's possible, even likely, that adult daughters with children experience instrumental support in the form of childcare from their mothers (Fingerman, Miller, Birditt, & Zarit, 2009).

The method for data collection involved face-to-face interviews. A few prospective interviewees asked to Skype or speak on the telephone and I turned these interviews down in order to maintain continuity in collection method. However, denying these requests meant excluding participants from other regions of the United States and possibly a greater diversity for the sample. Though I asked for the location of the mother's residence on the Participant Profile sheet, I did not use this information for analysis because of the variety of living situations described by participants. Some had recently moved away from their mothers, others lived very far away but visited more often than someone living in the same city as her mother. Because I did not ask the entire sample, I excluded any possible analyses related to maternal physical distance. Finally, I did not categorize daughters before interviewing according to their satisfaction or happiness as a daughter. Therefore I did not compare groups of daughters against other groups to determine likelihood of response from a member of that category. Though I included self-reports of happiness related to enacting expectations (Chapter 6), that is the only place I did so.

Daughters were interviewed for this study, but I did not include responses from their mothers or fathers, nor any validity checking for participants' narratives. An understanding of the daughter role is situated within the understanding that this is a dyadic relationship, between mothers and daughters as well as fathers and daughters. First, I did not include fathers in this study because of the extensive literature supporting the unique and strong nature of the relationship between mothers and daughters. I felt confident that an examination of this particular dyad would yield fruitful results and future investigations should surely include daughtering when considering one's father as well as the responses of fathers directly. Though dyadic relationships are best understood in concert with one another, the focus of this study was the role of the adult daughter and her perception of it. Considering the role as a 'cultural object' as described by Callero (1994), I wanted to understand the social construction of the daughter role first from the daughter. The nature of this study limited time and resources to only daughters' perspectives, but a study including the voices of mothers of adult daughters is the next logical step. Other future directions and potential studies will be further discussed below.

Future Directions

Adult daughters will continue to do the adult daughter role as they have done over a lifetime, managing and negotiating their relationships with their mothers on a day-to-day basis, considering both the practical daily concerns and the big picture of satisfying expectations from many parties. However, the results of this study indicate some practical directions that adult daughters or those who work with adult daughters may use to help those struggling with role expectations. First, helping adult daughters identify and label the work they do with their mothers, gives power and standing to the labor daughters are doing. The use of terms like 'daughtering' and 'daughterhood' help contextualize the lived

experience of an adult daughter, labeling the role portrayal of these women. This will hopefully manifest in a better understanding of the active role an adult daughter plays. Moreover, this may lead to a crystallization of the awareness of daughterhood community around her, allowing for access to social support from peers and family members, or even via social services. Secondly, practitioners may help adult daughters disentangle notions of what she 'ought' to be doing from what she 'wants' to be doing, in terms of labor in the daughtering role. Unfolding these expectations and clarifying goals for daughtering may help relieve the burden many daughters struggle with. I urge other qualitative researchers to take a look at the language used by participants to describe their experiences and not only the experiences being described. Absence of accessible language may be the most difficult element to notice, but ameliorating this deficit can be impactful for the population under study.

Using the lens of daughtering as an active and dynamic role portrayal illuminates a sharp contrast in the way daughters have often been treated as collateral to mothers in previous literature. At the same time, this concept, embodying daughterhood in a practiced—rather than cognitive—manner, helps us reflect on the experience of the adult daughter whose contributions are undervalued in our society. Using the language of labor, it is clear that daughtering costs adult women a great deal of effort and energy. The benefit is not only in the personal relationship an adult daughter has with her mother, but also comes from the social standing of daughtering one's mother well. The true value of this concept will be found in future studies probing issues related to feminism, historical standing, economic value, and well-being. Overall, this study contributes to a better understanding of what it means to be an adult daughter and investigated the influences that aid in socially constructing this position over a lifetime of meaning-making experiences and with future-looking concerns.

Future directions include research on the topic of family roles as well as continued focus on the viewpoints of adult daughters. Though daughters indicated that they know expectations for daughtering from their mothers, the origins of these expectations are unknown. A future study could examine how mothers teach their daughters how to daughter. Do they teach daughters how to daughter their fathers? Do they teach specific role expressions for a future wife role or mother role? If so, these studies can begin to address why there is a poorly formed understanding for the notion of daughtering and of the adult daughter role.

While a few participants noted that cultural influences or sexual orientation influenced the mother and adult daughter relationship, I found that though there be many differences between one mother/daughter dyad and the next, these variables did not alter their inclusion in the six themes reported here. However, I would expect that sampling methods which target a variety of cultural and sexual variables may reveal rich areas of knowledge that could ultimately be used to enhance many adult daughters' relationships with their mothers. I encourage scholars to purposely sample for these attributes and add to the depth and breadth of our current knowledge base.

The notion of a daughterhood was explored, though the available data provided only minimal support. However, the participant narratives supported the concept of a daughterhood of women performing their roles in parallel. The idea is intriguing and worth testing in future studies, which I will add to my program of research. Additionally, the data did not reveal an impact based upon socioeconomic status of the participants, related to daughtering or a daughterhood, but I suspect there are many areas of discrepancies when investigating these concepts from alternative lenses. Future studies on daughters should include a thorough investigation of class differences, including questions related to time

and ability to perform daughtering behaviors, as well as access to a daughterhood community based upon socioeconomic differences.

The discussion in Chapter 6 of daughters who do as they ought (or do not), but are satisfied or unsatisfied with those choices, would lend itself well to a study with a relational dialectical lens. Perhaps this tension could be explained with relational dialectics theory or a new dialectic relevant to expectations and obligations may be suggested. Additionally, related to the same theme, I suggest researchers of attachment theory examine how role behaviors and related satisfaction may be explained by various attachment categories. This would extend the understanding of adult role behaviors to childhood experiences and lifelong role creation/ management. Perhaps work like this could begin to explain the semantic derogation of *daughtering* and *daughterhood* (Schulz, 1975). Also, a future study could examine the well-being cost of the commoditization of feeling when obligation is exchanged for authentic emotion (Vannini & Williams, 2009).

Because all participants agreed to be contacted again within the following five year period, I intend to continue my research with these participants in the future. One way to do this is to ask similar questions, but investigate if the change over time has altered their role as an adult daughter in some ways. Another angle would be to contact the mothers of these women and engage in a dyadic study of roles. Perhaps a diary study that examines the amount of time daughters do the daughtering activities they listed would create a better picture of the importance of daughtering in these women's lives. I would also like to broaden the participant pool in future studies, not only to reflect a broader range of ethnic and racial groups and sexual orientations to examine possible effects of these variables, but also with the idea of investigating a sample that is not as similar to myself in so many categories (race, age, marriage, children, siblings, sexual orientation, location, socioeconomic status, relationship quality with mother). Doing so will allow for future

analyses not to be subject to imposing my personal experiences onto the data. Though I attempted this as best as possible, because as a qualitative researcher I value my personal insights, the data are necessarily tinged with my personal ideas on the topic, for better *and* for worse. I look forward to continuing a long research program that foregrounds the interpersonal communication of adult daughters in family dynamics.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, this dissertation set out to explore the social construction of the role of an adult daughter in an everyday, normative context. This study provides insight into the ways in which adult daughters communicatively construct their roles, resorting to borrowing language for describing a relationship that has shown to be important to both parties over a lifetime. Additionally, because daughters do not fully credit their daughtering labors, the community of daughters—a daughterhood—has yet to crystallize for this group, creating a hidden system of role performers that are undervalued. This point of view is missing from recent literature that examines the big events in the mother-daughter relationship and often ignores the active participation of daughters in the adult daughter role. I urge other researchers to consider how we can better foreground the activity of daughtering in future studies. Imagine if adult daughters were not performing these essential functions that bridge a lifespan? Within the hidden community of adult daughters, fulfilling their roles through a variety of role performances, women are working to create loving and interactive relationships that impact family systems. Daughtering is more than being filled up by mothering; it is an active role performance by a valuable community of women.

Appendix A: Participant Profile

Name: _____
Phone number: _____
Age:_____

Highest Level of Education completed:
_____
Marital status (circle all that apply):
Single Married Divorced Widowed Separated
Where are you from? (Any area/city/state you claim)
_____

Your Race/ethnicity:
_____

You are in (circle one): Good Health Fair Health Poor Health

Your yearly family income (circle one):

Under $25,000	$25, 001- $35,000	$35, 001- $45, 000	$45, 001- $55, 000
$55, 001- $65, 000	$65, 001- $75, 000	$75, 001- $85, 000	$85, 001- $95, 000
$95, 000+			

Children? (Name/age of each)
_____
Siblings? (Name/age of each)
_____

Mother's Name:
_____
Mother's Current City/State of residence:
_____

Mother's Age: _____

Mother's marital status:
Single Married Divorced Widowed Separated

Where is your mother from? (any area/city/state she claims)
_____

Mother's race/ ethnicity: _____

Mother is in (circle one): Good Health Fair Health Poor Health

Appendix B: IRB Application, Approval Letter, and Consent Form

Research Proposal

I. Title: Adult daughters' descriptions of Daughterhood

II. Investigators: Allison M. Alford, Madeline Maxwell

III. Hypothesis, Research Questions, or Goals of the Project:
A. Research Question 1: How do adult daughters describe their role?

IV. Background and Significance:

The mother/daughter relationship is unique; different than any other dyad (Wiggs, 2011). Mothers and daughters tend to have a great interdependence and closeness throughout a lifetime (Fingerman, 1996). Bojczyk, Lehan, McWey, Melson, & Kaufman (2010) said that out of all family relationships, the one between mother and daughter is most likely to remain important for both parties, even when major life changes occur. Boyd (1989) citing Chodrow (1974, 1978) says that daughters tend to maintain initial portions of their primary relationship with their mothers and continue throughout their lifetime to engage in personal identification based on the relationship with them.

The mother/ daughter relationship with both parties in middle-adulthood has yet to be studied in great depth. Bojczyk et al. (2010) conducted a qualitative study investigating the use of narrative to describe the mother/daughter dyad relationship using a life-course perspective. Both mother and daughter perspectives were examined. However, the study's aim was to understand how mothers and daughters discuss the past relationship course, but was not designed to understand the changing roles and relationship satisfaction over a lifespan as the current study intends.

Shrier, Tompsett, and Shrier (2004) reported that the majority of mother/daughter studies focus on childhood or gerontology. However, some scientists have begun investigating the importance of mother/daughter relationships in middle adulthood (Hay, Fingerman, and Lefkowitz, 2007). Miller-Day (2004) who wrote about trans-generational co-authorship of a lifecourse with daughters, mothers and granddaughters, describes the "velvet chains" (p. 3) that bind all mothers and daughters to each other. Her book reviews existing literature on mother/daughter relationships and, through grounded theory, presents a new idea of Necessary Convergence of Meaning. This theory describes the enmeshed relationships of women and the use of narrative to describe past events. Fischer described adult mother/daughter relationships as both "holding on and letting go" (1986, p. 63).

The goal of the current study is to begin a qualitative inquiry into how adult daughters describe their role over a lifespan. Data will be gathered from the adult daughters' perspective. A participant will be asked to indicate major life events she has experienced and then describe how these events changed her relationship with her mother. Once major life events are determined, a participant will be asked to identify how she was able to negotiate any relationship hiccups with her mother. Emphasis for this study will be on these negotiations and the continuing relationship.

Bojczyk, K. E., Lehan, T. J., McWey, L. M., Melson, G. F. & Kaufman, D. R. (2010). Mothers' and their adult daughters' perceptions of their relationship. *Journal of Family Issues, 32(4),* 452-481. doi:10.1177/0192513X10384073

Boyd, C. J. (1989). Mothers and daughters: A discussion of theory and research. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 51 (2),* 291-301.

Chodorow, N. (1974). Family structure and feminine personality. In M. Z. Rosaldo and L. Lamphere (eds.), *Women, Culture, and Society* (pp. 43-66). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Chodorow, N. (1978). Extract from The Reproduction of Mothering. *Feminism & Psychology, 12(1),* 11-17. doi:10.1177/0959353502012001551

Fingerman, K. L. (1996). Sources of tension in the aging mother and adult daughter relationship. *Psychology and aging, 11(4),* 591-606. doi: 10.1037/0882-7974.11.4.591

Fischer, L. R. (1986). *Linked lives: Adult daughters and their mothers*. New York, NY: Harper & Row.

Hay, E. L., Fingerman, K. L., & Lefkowitz, E. S. (2007). The experience of worry in parent-adult child relationships. *Personal Relationships, 14*, 605-622.

Miller-Day, M. (2004). *Communication among grandmothers, mothers, and adult daughters: A qualitative study of maternal relationships*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Shrier, D. K., Tompsett, M., & Shrier, L. A. (2004). Adult mother–daughter relationships: A review of the theoretical and research literature. *Journal of the American Academy of Psychoanalysis and Dynamic Psychiatry, 32*, 91-115.

Wiggs, C. M. (2011). Mothers and daughters: Intertwining relationships and the lived experience of breast cancer. *Health Care for Women International, 32*, 990-1008. doi:10.1080/07399332.2011.603858

V. Research Method, Design, and Proposed Statistical Analysis:

- **A.** The participant will be recruited via an online community of mothers on Facebook (Mothering San Marcos) to participate in a 1-2 hour one-on-one, face-to-face interview.
- **B.** Interviews will take place at a public location determined by the participant.
- **C.** All interviews will be audio-recorded.
- **D.** Participants will be asked interview questions and follow-up questions designed to explore the study's Research Questions.
- **E.** Data will be analyzed conversationally and ethnographically. Patterns of responses will be coded into response categories. These categories will be compared with relevant literature to discover possible new phenomena. Existing phenomena will be compared with literature and data on similar relationships (daughter/father, son/father) to determine the generalizability of the mother/daughter relationship data being gathered.

VI. Human Subject Interactions

- **A.** Potential participants (n=40) will be gathered from an online community forum for mothers (Facebook, Mothering San Marcos). Participants may be from any

race/ethnicity. The subject population is primarily Caucasian including Hispanic and Not-Hispanic. All potential participants are female. Participants must be age 25-45. Participants must have a living, healthy mother under age 70. Participants must be willing to discuss their mothers and major life events and be willing to sign a consent form to participate. The limited age range places all participants in middle adulthood. The age is not higher because it is important that participant have a healthy mother and the participant is not her caretaker.

B. Consent forms will be provided in English only.

C. Risk of coercion is low, as participation is voluntary and has no direct benefit to the participant. All participants must be consenting adults. Participation in this study does not involve risk of physical harm. It is unlikely that participants will risk mental harm. However, if a participant feels the need to seek mental health treatment after participation in this study, she will incur the costs of the treatment.

D. Human subject involvement will begin upon study approval, in February, 2013. Participation in the study may continue until May, 2017. This study is being used as a pilot study for a potential dissertation topic.

E. Recruitment for the study will consist of a Facebook post on the community site Mothering San Marcos. Text for the Facebook post is below.

i. I am a student at The University of Texas at Austin (Department of Communication Studies Dept., CMA 7.112, 2504A Whitis Ave, Austin, TX 78712-0115). I am recruiting participants for an investigational study on adult mother/daughter communication and relationships. I am looking for women, age 25-45, who have a child, a living and healthy mother under age 70, and are willing to discuss their mother. If you are willing to discuss your life experiences with your mother, please contact me to participate in this study. Participation consists of a 1-2 hour interview at a location of your choice. Please contact me via private message or by phone (830) 515-8066. This study has been approved by The University of Texas at Austin Institutional Review Board.

F. **Consent:** Prior to the start of the interview, the Principal Investigator will review the consent form with each participant. Participants will sign 2 copies of the consent form. One copy is for the Principal Investigator and one copy of the form is for the participant's records. Participants who choose not to sign the consent form will not continue in the study.

G. **Research Protocol:** Participants will answer questions in a non-structured interview. Sample questions are attached. Follow-up questions will be used to further explore topics that participants introduce. Interviews will take, on average, 60-120 minutes. Data will be coded and analyzed for word choice and ethnographic phenomena.

H. **Participant Privacy and Confidentiality:** Interviews will take place at a quiet public location of the participants' choice, such as a coffee house or the local library. Interviews will be private, one-on-one, face-to-face interactions. Maximum effort will be employed to insure participants' comfort and ease. Participant confidentiality will be maintained by changing all names, locations and any other identifying information. Real name, phone number, and address will not be disclosed to anyone other than the Principal Investigator.

i. Participants will be asked if they will consent to be contacted for follow up questioning within the next five years.

I. **Data Confidentiality:** Participant data will be stored in a locked office in the home of the Principal Investigator. Identifying information, including pseudonyms, will be kept in a key file in a locked file cabinet separate from recorded conversations and notes. No one other than the Principal Investigator will see the identifying information of participants.
   i. Contact information for participants who consent to be contacted for follow-up questioning within the following five years will be kept in a file cabinet along with a key file linking the data to the identifying information of that participant. This contact information, including name and phone number, will be destroyed five years after the interview date. It will be kept until this time to provide the option for future follow-up, longitudinal study.
   ii. Contact information for participants who do not consent to be contacted will be kept in a different file cabinet than the consent-group. After coding and data processing, the contact information for the non-consent participants will be destroyed. This will occur within 6 months of the interview date.
   iii. All audio data will be labeled with a pseudonym only. Audio data will be transcribed to written data. Audio data will be kept indefinitely and will be stored in a locked file cabinet accessible only to the Principal Investigator.

J. **Research Resources:** Space for this study will be provided by participants or a public location will be chosen by the participant or the Principal Investigator. Audio equipment will be provided at the cost of the Principal Investigator. Most interviews will take place in Austin, Buda, Kyle, or New Braunfels, Texas. Medical facilities exist within a 10 mile radius of all residents of these cities.

VII. Potential Participant Risks:

A. **Physical:** There are no reasonable physical risks to participation in this study.

B. **Psychological:** Potential risk exists for psychological trauma as a result of discussing past relationship history. To prevent unanticipated problems, participants will be thoroughly informed about the nature of the interview before consenting for participation. This risk is minimal due to the nature of the study. Although no more than everyday stress levels are anticipated in talking about mother/daughter relationships, talking about intimate matters has the possibility of provoking strong emotions. Participants may decline to answer any question or withdraw from participation at any time.
   i. Participants will be given the phone number of a local counseling center that offers free and income-based-fee counseling services if they need support. Oakwood Counseling Center. (830) 627-7006.
   http://oakwoodnb.com/commit/counseling-center
   This information is included in the consent form. Psychological treatment will not be provided by the researcher.
   ii. If a participant reports child abuse, past or present, the Principal Investigator will report it to Child and Family Protective Services, 1-800-252-5400. This information is included in the consent form.
   iii. Participants also risk potential loss of privacy due to recruitment in a public forum. However, participants can avoid this by selecting to contact the Principal Investigator in a private manner, such as via private message, email, or telephone rather than creating a public message in an open forum.

iv. Unanticipated problems will be reported to the IRB at The University of Texas at Austin and the Faculty Sponsor.

VIII. **Potential Benefits to Participant:** There is no direct potential benefit to the participant. Society may benefit as a result of this research. Data analysis will attempt to reveal behaviors which can improve mother/daughter relationships throughout the lifespan and surrounding major life experiences.

IX. **Sites for the research project:** Research will be conducted at neutral, public locations chosen by the participant, such a coffee house or restaurant. The only necessary equipment needed for this study is a quiet, private interview space and audio recording equipment provided by the Principal Investigator.

OFFICE OF RESEARCH SUPPORT

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN

P.O. Box 7426, Austin, Texas 78713 · Mail Code A3200
(512) 471-8871 · FAX (512) 471-8873

FWA # 00002030

Date: 04/28/15

PI: Allison M Alford

Dept: Communication Studies

Title: Adult daughters' descriptions of daughterhood

Re: IRB Expedited Continuing Review Approval for Protocol Number 2013-01-0055

Dear Allison M Alford:

In accordance with the Federal Regulations the Institutional Review Board (IRB) reviewed the above referenced research study continuing review report and found it met the requirements for approval under the Expedited category noted below for the following period of time: 04/24/2015 to 04/23/2016. *Expires 12 a.m. [midnight] of this date.*

Expedited category of approval:

☐ 1) Clinical studies of drugs and medical devices only when condition (a) or (b) is met. (a) Research on drugs for which an investigational new drug application (21 CFR Part 312) is not required. (Note: Research on marketed drugs that significantly increases the risks or decreases the acceptability of the risks associated with the use of the product is not eligible for expedited review). (b) Research on medical devices for which (i) an investigational device exemption application (21 CFR Part 812) is not required; or (ii) the medical device is cleared/approved for marketing and the medical device is being used in accordance with its cleared/approved labeling.

☐ 2) Collection of blood samples by finger stick, heel stick, ear stick, or venipuncture as follows: (a) from healthy, non-pregnant adults who weigh at least 110 pounds. For these subjects, the amounts drawn may not exceed 550 ml in an 8 week period and collection may not occur more frequently than 2 times per week; or (b) from other adults and children, considering the age, weight, and health of the subjects, the collection procedure, the amount of blood to be collected, and the frequency with which it will be collected. For these subjects, the amount drawn may not exceed the lesser of 50 ml or 3 ml per kg in an 8 week period and collection may not occur more frequently than 2 times per week.

☐ 3) Prospective collection of biological specimens for research purposes by non-invasive means. Examples:
   (a) Hair and nail clippings in a non-disfiguring manner.
   (b) Deciduous teeth at time of exfoliation or if routine patient care indicates a need for extraction.
   (c) Permanent teeth if routine patient care indicates a need for extraction.
   (d) Excreta and external secretions (including sweat).

(e) Uncannulated saliva collected either in an un-stimulated fashion or stimulated by chewing gumbase or wax or by applying a dilute citric solution to the tongue.
(f) Placenta removed at delivery.
(g) Amniotic fluid obtained at the time of rupture of the membrane prior to or during labor.
(h) Supra- and subgingival dental plaque and calculus, provided the collection procedure is not more invasive than routine prophylactic scaling of the teeth and the process is accomplished in accordance with accepted prophylactic techniques.
(i) Mucosal and skin cells collected by buccal scraping or swab, skin swab, or mouth washings.
(j) Sputum collected after saline mist nebulization.

☐ 4) Collection of data through non-invasive procedures (not involving general anesthesia or sedation) routinely employed in clinical practice, excluding procedures involving x-rays or microwaves. Where medical devices are employed, they must be cleared/approved for marketing. (Studies intended to evaluate the safety and effectiveness of the medical device are not generally eligible for expedited review, including studies of cleared medical devices for new indications).
Examples:
(a) Physical sensors that are applied either to the surface of the body or at a distance and do not involve input of significant amounts of energy into the subject or an invasion of the subject's privacy.
(b) Weighing or testing sensory acuity.
(c) Magnetic resonance imaging.
(d) Electrocardiography, electroencephalography, thermography, detection of naturally occurring radioactivity, electroretinography, ultrasound, diagnostic infrared imaging, doppler blood flow, and echocardiography.
(e) Moderate exercise, muscular strength testing, body composition assessment, and flexibility testing where appropriate given the age, weight, and health of the individual.

☐ 5) Research involving materials (data, documents, records, or specimens) that have been collected, or will be collected solely for non-research purposes (such as medical treatment or diagnosis).
Note: Some research in this category may be exempt from the HHS regulations for the protection of human subjects. 45 CFR 46.101(b)(4). This listing refers only to research that is not exempt.

☐ 6) Collection of data from voice, video, digital, or image recordings made for research purposes.

☒ 7) Research on individual or group characteristics or behavior (including, but not limited to, research on perception, cognition, motivation, identity, language, communication, cultural beliefs or practices, and social behavior) or research employing survey, interview, oral history, focus group, program evaluation, human factors evaluation, or quality assurance methodologies.
Note: Some research in this category may be exempt from the HHS regulations for the protection of human subjects. 45 CFR 46.101(b)(2) and (b)(3). This listing refers only to research that is not exempt.

☒ Use the attached approved informed consent document(s).

☐ You have been granted a Waiver of Documentation of Consent according to 45 CFR 46.117 and/or 21 CFR 56.109(c)(1).

☐ You have been granted a Waiver of Informed Consent according to 45 CFR 46.116(d).

Responsibilities of the Principal Investigator:

1. Report immediately to the IRB any unanticipated problems.

2. Submit for review and approval by the IRB all modifications to the protocol or consent form(s). Ensure the proposed changes in the approved research are not applied without prior IRB review and approval, except when necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to the subject. Changes in approved research implemented without IRB review and approval initiated to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to the subject must be promptly reported to the IRB, and will be reviewed under the unanticipated problems policy to determine whether the change was consistent with ensuring the subjects continued welfare.

3. Report any significant findings that become known in the course of the research that might affect the willingness of subjects to continue to participate.

4. Ensure that only persons formally approved by the IRB enroll subjects.

5. Use only a currently approved consent form, if applicable.
   Note: Approval periods are for 12 months or less.

6. Protect the confidentiality of all persons and personally identifiable data, and train your staff and collaborators on policies and procedures for ensuring the privacy and confidentiality of subjects and their information.

7. Submit a Continuing Review Application for continuing review by the IRB. Federal regulations require IRB review of on-going projects no less than once a year a reminder letter will be sent to you two months before your expiration date. If a reminder is not received from Office of Research Support (ORS) about your upcoming continuing review, it is still the primary responsibility of the Principal Investigator not to conduct research activities on or after the expiration date. The Continuing Review Application must be submitted, reviewed and approved, before the expiration date.

8. Upon completion of the research study, a Closure Report must be submitted to the ORS.

9. Include the IRB study number on all future correspondence relating to this protocol.

If you have any questions contact the ORS by phone at (512) 471-8871 or via e-mail at orsc@uts.cc.utexas.edu.

Sincerely,

James P. Wilson

James Wilson, Ph.D.
Institutional Review Board Chair

IRB USE ONLY
Study Number: 2013-01-0055
Approval Date: 04/24/2015
Expires: 04/23/2016

Consent for Participation in Research

Title: Adult daughters' descriptions of Daughterhood

Introduction
The purpose of this form is to provide you information that may affect your decision as to whether or not to participate in this research study. The person performing the research will answer any of your questions. Read the information below and ask any questions you might have before deciding whether or not to take part. If you decide to be involved in this study, this form will be used to record your consent.

Purpose of the Study
You have been asked to participate in a research study about the interactions and relationship between adult daughters and their mothers. The purpose of this study is to understand relationships between adult daughters and their mothers.

What will you to be asked to do?
If you agree to participate in this study, you will be asked to complete a one-on-one interview. This study will take up to 120 minutes and will include approximately 40 participants. Your participation will be audio recorded.

What are the risks involved in this study?
There are no foreseeable risks to participating in this study. Although no more than everyday stress levels are anticipated in talking about mother/daughter relationships, talking about intimate matters has the possibility of provoking strong emotions. Participants may decline to answer any question or withdraw from participation at any time.

If you feel the need to seek emotional support, local counseling service may be able to help you. Oakwood Counseling Center offers free and low-fee counseling services if you need support. (830) 627-7006. http://oakwoodnb.com/commit/counseling-center

If a participant reports child abuse, past or present, the Principal Investigator must legally report it to Child and Family Protective Services, 1-800-252-5400.

What are the possible benefits of this study?
You will receive no direct benefit from participating in this study; however, your information will advance the science of understanding mother/daughter relationships with the ultimate goal of improving these relationships.

Do you have to participate?
No, your participation is voluntary. You may decide not to participate at all or, if you start the study, you may withdraw at any time. Withdrawal or refusal to participate will not affect your relationship with The University of Texas at Austin or The Mothering San Marcos Facebook group in anyway. You will not be penalized or lose any benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

If you would like to participate please sign the attached consent form. You will receive a copy of this form.

What are the alternatives to participating in this research?
If you do not want to participate, you can help recruit other participants as an aid to this study.

Will there be any compensation?
You will not receive any type of payment participating in this study.

What are my confidentiality or privacy protections when participating in this research study?
This study is confidential and all names and any identifying information will be changed in the report. No one other than Allison Alford will be viewing the identifying information of each participant. All materials will be kept in a locked office. All identifying information will be kept in a locked file cabinet. All contact and identifying information will be destroyed after 6 months if you do not consent to be contacted again. If you consent to be contacted again, contact and identifying information will be destroyed five years from the date of this interview. If you choose to participate in this study, you will be audio recorded. Audio data will be labeled with a pseudonym. Recorded audio data will be kept in a separate locked file cabinet. Recordings will be kept indefinitely. The data resulting from your participation may be used for future research or be made available to other researchers for research purposes not detailed within this consent form. No identifying or contact information will be kept with the data at any time.

Whom to contact with questions about the study?
Prior, during, or after your participation you can contact the researcher **Allison Alford** at **(830) 515-8066** or send an email to **allisonalford@utexas.edu**

This study has been reviewed and approved by The University Institutional Review Board and the study number is 2013-01-0055**.**

Whom to contact with questions concerning your rights as a research participant?
For questions about your rights or any dissatisfaction with any part of this study, you can contact, anonymously if you wish, the Institutional Review Board by phone at (512) 471-8871 or email at orsc@uts.cc.utexas.edu.

Participation
If you agree to participate please contact Allison Alford to set up an interview date & time. At the interview, please return this signed document.

Signature
You have been informed about this study's purpose, procedures, possible benefits and risks, and you have received a copy of this form. You have been given the opportunity to ask questions before you sign, and you have been told that you can ask other questions at any time. You voluntarily agree to participate in this study. By signing this form, you are not waiving any of your legal rights.

_____
Printed Name

_____ _____
Signature Date

Will you allow the researcher to contact you again within the next five years? YES ☐ NO ☐

As a representative of this study, I have explained the purpose, procedures, benefits, and the risks involved in this research study.

_____
Print Name of Person obtaining consent

_____ _____
Signature of Person obtaining consent Date

References

Adams, R. G., & Blieszner, R. (1996). Midlife friendship patterns. In N. Vanzetti & S. Duck (Eds.), *A lifetime of relationships* (pp. 336–363). Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks.

Allen, V. L. & van de Vliert, E. (1984*). Role Transitions: Explorations and Explanations*. New York: Plenum Press.

Anderson, B. (2006). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism.* London: Verso.

Aquilino, W. (1997). From adolescent to young adult: A prospective study of parent-child relations during the transition to adulthood. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 59,* 670-686.

Ardener, E. (1975). The "problem" revisited. In S. Ardener (Ed.), *Perceiving women* (pp. 19- 27). London: Malaby Press.

Arnett, J. J. (2007). Socialization in emerging adulthood: From the family to the wider world, from socialization to self-socialization. In J. E. Grusec and P. D. Hastings (Eds.) *Socialization: Theory and Research.* New York: Guilford Press.

Atkinson, R. (1998). *The Life Story Interview.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Bal, M. (1997). *Narratology: Introduction to the theory of narrative.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press Incorportate.

Baxter, L. A. (2011). *Voicing relationships: A dialogic perspective.* Los Angeles, CA: Sage.

Baxter, L. A., & Montgomery, B. M. (1996). *Relating: Dialogues & dialectics*. New York: The Guilford Press

Becker, H. S. (1996). The Epistemology of Qualitative Research. In R. Jessor, A. Colby, & R. Schweder (Eds.) *Essays on Ethnography and Human Development*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Berger, P. & Luckmann, T. *(*1966). *The social construction of reality: A treatise on the sociology of knowledge.* New York, NY: Anchor Books.

Bergman, A. & Fahey, M. (1996). Two women and their mothers: On the internalization and development of mother-daughter relationships. *The Psychology of Women: Psychoanalytic Perspective, 44*, 449- 482.

Bernstein, P.P. (2004). Mothers and daughters from today's psychoanalytic perspective. *Psychoanalytic Inquiry, 24*(5), 601-628.

Blumer, H. (1969). *Symbolic interactionism: Perspective and method*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Bojczyk, K. E., Lehan, T. J., McWey, L. M., Melson, G. F., & Kaufman, D. R. (2011). Mothers' and their adult daughters' perceptions of their relationship. *Journal of Family Issues, 32*(4), 452-481.

Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bowen, M. (1978). *Family therapy in clinical practice.* New York: Jason Aronson, Inc.

Bruner, J. (1991). The narrative construction of reality. *Critical Inquiry, 18*, 1-21.

Buhl, H. M. (2008). Development of a model describing individuated adult child–parent relationships. *International Journal of Behavioral Development September, 32*(5), pp. 381-389.

Buhl, H. K. (2009). My mother: My best friend? Adults' relationships with significant others across the lifespan. *Journal of Adult Development,16*, 239–249.

Callero, P. L. (1994). From role-playing to role-using: Understanding role as resource. *Social Psychology Quarterly, 57*(3), 228-243.

Carstensen, L. L. (1991). Selectivity theory: Social activity in life-span context. *Annual Review of Gerontology and Geriatrics, 11*, 195-217.

Cecchin, M. L. (2001). Reconsidering the role of being a daughter of a mother with dementia. *Journal of Family Studies, 7*(1), 101-107.

Charles, M., Frank, S. J., Jacobson, S., & Grossman, G. (2001). Repetition of the remembered past: Patterns of separation-individuation in two generations of mothers and daughters. *Psychoanalytic Psychology, 18*, 705-728.

Chodorow, N. (1974). Family structure and feminine personality. In M. Z. Rosaldo and L. Lamphere (Eds.), *Women, Culture, and Society* (pp. 43-66). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Chodorow, N. (1978). Extract from The Reproduction of Mothering. *Feminism & Psychology, 12(1),* 11-17.

Cirksena, K. & Cuklanz, L. (1992). Male is to female as __ is to __: A guided tour of five feminist frameworks for communication studies. In L. F. Rakow (Ed.), *Women*

making meaning: New feminist directions in communication (pp. 18-44). New York: Routledge, Chapman and Hall, Inc.

Coffelt, T. A. (2010). Is sexual communication challenging between mothers and daughters? *Journal of Family Communication, 10*(2), 116-130.

Colaner, C. W., & Rittenour, C. E. (2015). "Feminism begins at home": The influence of mother gender socialization on daughter career and motherhood aspirations as channeled through daughter feminist identification. *Communication Quarterly*, *63*(1), 81-98.

Coltrane, S. (2000). Research on household labor: Modeling and measuring the social embeddedness of routine family work. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 62*(4), 1208-1233.

Corbin, J., & Strauss, A. (2008). *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques to developing grounded theory* (3rd ed.). Los Angeles, CA: Sage.

Denzin, N. K. & Lincoln, Y. S. (2011). *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Di Leonardo, M. (1987). The Female World of Cards and Holidays: Women, Families, and the Work of Kinship. *Signs, 12*(3), 440-453.

DiCicco-Bloom B., & Crabtree B. F. (2006). The qualitative research interview. *Medical Education, (40)*4, 314-321.

Duck, S. & McMahan, D. T. (2015). *Communication in everyday life: A survey of communication (2nd ed.).* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Elder, G. H. (1994). Time, human agency, and social change: Perspectives on the life course. *Social Psychology Quarterly, 57*(1), 4-15.

Elder, G. H. (1998). The life course as developmental theory. *Child Development, 69*(1), 1-12.

Ellis, C. S., Bochner, A., & Tillman-Healy, L. (2000). Relationships as stories: Accounts, storied lives, evocative narratives. In Dindia, K. & Duck, S. (Eds.), *Communication and Personal Relationships* (pp. 13-29). New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Featherman, D. L. & Sorensen, A. (1984). Societal change and role transitions into adulthood. In Allen, V. L. & van de Vliert, E. *Role transitions: Explorations and explanations*, (pp. 137-149). New York: Plenum Press.

Fingerman, K. L. (1996). Sources of tension in the aging mother and adult daughter relationship. *Psychology and aging, 11*(4), 591-606.

Fingerman, K. L. (2000). "We had a nice little chat": Age and generational differences in mothers' and daughters' descriptions of enjoyable visits. *Journal of Gerontology, 55,* 95-106.

Fingerman, K. L. (2001). *Aging mothers and their adult daughters: A study in mixed emotions.* New York: Springer Publishing.

Fingerman, K. L., & Bermann, E. (2000). Applications of family systems theory to the study of adulthood. *International Journal of Aging and Human Development, 51*(1), 5–29.

Fingerman, K. L., Cheng, Y. P., Wesselmann, E. D., Zarit, S., Furstenberg, F., & Birditt, K. S. (2012). Helicopter parents and landing pad kids: Intense parental support of grown children. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 74,* 880-896.

Fingerman, K. L., Miller, L. M., Birditt, K. S., & Zarit, S. (2009). Giving to the good and the needy: Parental support of grown children. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 71*, 1220-1233.

Fingerman, K. L., Pitzer, L., Lefkowitz, E. S. , Birditt, K. S., Mroczek, D. (2008) Ambivalent relationship qualities between adults and their parents: Implications for both parties' well-being. *Journals of Gerontology: Psychological Sciences, 63*(6), 362-371.

Fingerman, K. L., Sechrist, J., & Birditt, K. S. (2013). Changing views on intergenerational ties. *Gerontology, 59,* 64-70.

Finlay, L. (2002). Negotiating the swamp: The opportunity and challenge of reflexivity in research practice. *Qualitative Research, 2,* 209-230.

Fischer, L.R. (1981). Transitions in the Mother-Daughter Relationship. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 43*(3), 613-622.

Fischer, L. R. (1986). *Linked lives: Adult daughters and their mothers.* New York, NY: Harper & Row.

Fisher, C. L. (2010). Coping with breast cancer across adulthood: Emotional support communication in the mother–daughter bond. *Journal of Applied Communication Research, 38*(4), 386-411.

Fisher, C., & Miller-Day, M. (2006). Communication over the life span: The mother-adult daughter relationship. In K. Floyd, & M. T. Morman, (Eds.), *Widening the family circle: New research on family communication* (pp. 3-19). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Floyd, K., Mikkelson, A. C., & Judd, J. (2006) Defining the family through relationships. In L. H. Turner & R. L. West (Eds.), *The family communication sourcebook* (pp. 21-39). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Galvin, K. M. (2006). Diversity's impact on defining the family: Discourse-dependence and identity. In L. H. Turner & R. West (Eds.), *The family communication sourcebook* (pp. 3-19). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Galvin, K. M., Braithwaite, D. O. & Bylund, C. L. (2004). Communication and family roles and types. In K. M. Galvin, C. L. Bylund, & B. J. Brommel (Eds.), *Family Communication: Cohesion and Change* (pp. 168-196). New York: Pearson.

Geertz, C. (1973). *The interpretation of cultures.* New York: Basic Books.

Gergen, K. J. (1980). Towards intellectual audacity in social psychology. In R. Gilmour & S. Duck (Eds.), *The Development of Social Psychology* (pp. 239–270). London: Academic Press.

Gergen, M., & Gergen, K. (1984). The social construction of narrative accounts. In M. Gergen, & K. Gergen (Eds.), *Historical social psychology* (pp. 173-189). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Given, L. M. (2008). Thematic Coding and Analysis. *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods*, *2* (pp. 867-868). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Glaser, B. G. (1978). *Theoretical Sensitivity: Advances in the Methodology of Grounded Theory*. Mill Valley, CA: Sociology Press.

Glenn, E. N. (1994) Social constructions of mothering: A thematic overview. In E. N. Glenn, G. Chang, & L. R. Forcey (Eds). *Mothering: Ideology, Experience, and Agency*, (pp. 1-32). New York: Routledge.

Goffman, E. (1959). *The presentation of self in everyday life.* New York: Anchor Books.

Goffman, E. (1961). *Encounters: Two studies in the sociology of interaction*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill.

Goffman, E. (1963) *Stigma: Notes on the management of spoiled identity.* Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall

Goldsmith, D. J. & Baxter, L. A. (1996). Constituting relationships in talk: A taxonomy of speech events in social and personal relationships. *Human Communication Research, 23*(1), 87-114.

Goldsmith, D. J. & Fitch, K. (1997). The normative context of advice as social support. *Human Communication Research*, *23*(4), 454-476.

Goldsmith, D. J. (2001). A normative approach to the study of uncertainty and communication. *Journal of Communication, 51*(3), 514-533.

Gubrium, J. F. (1988). *Analyzing Field Reality.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Gubrium, J. F., & Holstein, J. A. (2008). Narrative Ethnography. In S. N. Hesse-Biber and P. Leavy *Handbook of Emergent Methods* (pp. 241-264). New York: The Guilford Press.

Hampton, M. R. (1997) Adopted women give birth: Connection between women and matrilineal continuity. *Feminism & Psychology, 7*(1), 83-106.

Hanks, W. (1996). *Language and Communicative practices.* Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Hanks, W. F. (2005). Pierre Bourdieu and the Practices of Language, *Annual Review of Anthropology, 34*, 67-83.

Hareven, T. K. (1977) Family time and historical time. *Daedalus, 106*(2), 57-70.

Hareven, T. K. (1996) *Aging and generational relations over the life course: A historical and cross-cultural perspective.* New York: W. de Gruyter.

Hareven, T. K. (2000) *Families, history, and social change: Life course and cross-cultural perspectives.* Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Harrigan, M. M. & Miller-Ott, A. E. (2013). The multivocality of meaning making: An exploration of the discourses college-aged daughters voice in talk about their mothers. *Journal of Family Communication, 13*(2), 114-131.

Hayslip, B., Neumann, C. S., Louden, L., & Chapman, B. (2006). Developmental stage theories. In J. C. Thomas and D. L. Segal (Eds.) *Comprehensive Handbook of Personality and Psychopathology: Volume I, Personality and Everyday Functioning* (pp. 115-141). New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Hochschild, A. R. (1979). Emotion Work, Feeling Rules, and Social Structure, *American Journal of Sociology, 85*(3), 551-557.

Holstein, J. A. & Gubrium, J.F. (1995). *The Active Interview*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Horstman, H. K., Maliski, R., Hays, A., Cox, J., Enderle, A., & Nelson, L. R. (2015) Unfolding narrative meaning over time: The contributions of mother–daughter conversations of difficulty on daughter narrative sense-making and well-being. *Communication Monographs*, DOI: 10.1080/03637751.2015.1068945.

Hutchison, E. D. (2007) *Dimensions of human behavior: The changing life course* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

James, N. (1989). Emotional labour: Skill and work in the social regulation of feeling. *The Sociological Review*, 37(1), 15-42.

Korolczuk, E. (2010). The Social Construction of Motherhood and Daughterhood in Contemporary Poland—a Trans-Generational Perspective. *Polish Sociological Review*, 172, 467-485.

Krauss, S. E. (2005) Research paradigms and meaning making: A primer. *The Qualitative Report 10*(4), 758-770.

Lave, J. (1991). Situating learning in communities of practice.(pp. 63-82). In Lauren B. Resnick, John M. Levine, and Stephanie D. Teasley (Eds*). Perspectives on Socially Shared Cognition*. Washington D.C.: American Psychological Association.

Lave, J. & Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated learning: Legitimate peripheral participation*. Cambridge University Press.

Li, L. W. & Seltzer, M. M. (2005). Relationship quality with parent, daughter role salience, and self-esteem of daughter caregivers. *Marriage & Family Review, 37*(1/2), 63-82.

Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Lindlof, T. R., & Taylor, B. C. (2002). *Qualitative communication research methods* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Lindlof, T. R., & Taylor, B. C. (2011). *Qualitative communication research methods* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Luedemann, M. B., Ehrenberg, M. F., & Hunter, M. A. (2006). Mothers' discussions with daughters following divorce. *Journal of Divorce & Remarriage, 46*, 29-55.

Lynch, K. (2007). Love labour as a distinct and non-commodifiable form of care labour. *The Sociological Review, (55)*3, 550-570.

Marcoen, A. (1995). Filial maturity of middle-aged adult children in the context of parent care: Model and measures. *Journal of Adult Development, 2*(2), 125-136.

Marks, N. F., Jun, H., & Song, J. (2007). Death of parents and adult psychological and physical well-being: A prospective U.S. national study. *Journal of Family Issues, 28*, 1611–1638.

McNaughtan, E. D. (2012). *Muted motherhood: A standpoint analysis of stay-at-home mothers.* (Masters' Thesis). Retrieved from Southern Utah University. Open access: https://secure.suu.edu/hss/comm/masters/capstone/thesis/liz-mcnaughtan.pdf)

Meade, G. H. (1956). Selections from mind, self, and society. In A. Strauss (Eds.) *The Social Psychology of George Herbert Meade.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Miller-Day, M. (2004). *Communication among grandmothers, mothers, and adult daughters: A qualitative study of maternal relationships.* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Miller-Day, M., Fisher, C. L., & Stube, J. (2013). Looking back and moving forward: Toward an understanding of mother-daughter and mother-son relationships. In K. Floyd and M. Morman (Eds.) *Widening the family circle II: New research on family communication* (pp. 1-17). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Moss, M. S., & Moss, S. Z. (1989). The death of a parent. In R. Kalish (Ed.), *Midlife loss* (pp. 89-114). Newbury Park: Sage.

Morgan, M. & Hummert, M. L. (2006). Perceptions of communicative control strategies in mother-daughter dyads across the life span. *Journal of Communication, 50*(3), 48–64.

Nager, E. A. & De Vries, B. (2004). Memorializing on the world wide web: Patterns of grief and attachment in adult daughters of deceased mothers. *OMEGA, 49*(1), 43-56.

Nelson, M. K. (2006). Single mothers "do" family. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 68,* 781-795.

O'Connor, P. (1990). The adult mother/daughter relationship: A uniquely and universally close relationship? *The Sociological Review, 38*(2), 293-323.

O'Reilly, A. & Ruddick, S. (2009). A conversation about maternal thinking. In A. O'Reilly and S. Ruddick's (Eds.) *Maternal Thinking: Philosophy, Politics,*

Practice. Ontario, Canada: Bradford Press. Retrieved from https://sararuddick.files.wordpress.com/2011/09/maternal-thinking-chapter.pdf

Parker, K. (2012). *The Boomerang Generation: Feeling OK about Living with Mom and Dad.* Washington D. C.: Pew Research Center. Retrieved 7 April 2016 from http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/files/2012/03/PewSocialTrends-2012-BoomerangGeneration.pdf

Penington, B. A. (2004). The communicative management of connection and autonomy in African American and European American mother-daughter relationships. *The Journal of Family Communication, 4*(1), 3-34.

Pew Research Center (30 Jan 2013). *The Sandwich Generation Rising Financial Burdens for Middle-Aged Americans.* Washington, D.C.: Pew Research Center. Retrieved 6 April 2016 from http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/files/2013/01/Sandwich_Generation_Report_FINAL_1-29.pdf

Phoenix, A. & Seu, B. (2013) Negotiating daughterhood and strangerhood: retrospective accounts of serial migration. *Feminism and Psychology, 23*(3), pp. 299-316.

Punch, M. (1986). *The Politics and Ethics of Fieldwork: Muddy Boots and Grubby Hands*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Rastogi, M. & Wampler, K. S. (1999). Adult Daughters' Perceptions of the Mother-Daughter Relationship: A Cross-Cultural Comparison. *Family Relations, 48*(3), pp. 327-336.

Riessman, C. K. (2008). *Narrative methods for the human sciences*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Riessman, C. K. (1993). *Narrative analysis.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Rittenour, C. E. & Colaner, C. W. (2012). Finding female fulfillment: Intersecting role-based and morality-based identities of motherhood, feminism, and generativity as predictors of women's self-satisfaction and life satisfaction. *Sex Roles, 67,* 351-362.

Rossi, A. S., & Rossi, P. H. (1990). *Of human bonding: Parent–child relationships across the life course.* Hawthorne, NY: Aldine de Gruyter.

Ruddick, S. (1989) *Maternal Thinking: Towards a Politics of Peace.* Boston, MA: Beacon Press.

Russell, A., & Saebel, J. (1997). Mother-son, mother-daughter, father-son, father-daughter: Are they distinct relationships? *Developmental Review, 17,* 1-37.

Scharlach, A. E. (1987). Role strain in mother-daughter relationships in later life. *The Gerontologist, 27*(5), 627-631.

Schulz, M. (1975). The semantic derogation of woman. In B. Thorne and N. Henley Eds., *Language and Sex*, pp. 64-75. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Schwarz, B. (2006). Adult daughters' family structure and the association between reciprocity and relationship quality. *Journal of Family Issues, 27*(2), 208-228.

Schwarz, B., Trommsdorff, G., Albert, I., & Mayer, B. (2005). Adult parent-child relationship: Relationship quality, support, and reciprocity. *Applied Psychology: An International Review, 54*, 396-417.

Schwarz, B., Trommsdorff, G., Kim, U., & Park, Y. S. (2006). Intergenerational support between women and their parents: Psychological and cultural analyses of Korean and German women. *Current Sociology, 54*(2), 315-340.

Segrin, C. (2006). Family interaction and well-being: Integrative perspectives. *Journal of Family Communication, 6*, 3-21.

Shaw, C. R. (1966). *The jack roller: A delinquent boy's own story*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. (Original work published 1930).

Sherr, A. (2000). The value of experience in legal competence. *International Journal of the Legal Profession, 7,* 95-124.

Sherzer, J. (2002) *Speech play and verbal art.* Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Shrier, D. K., Tompsett, M., & Shrier, L. A. (2004). Adult mother–daughter relationships: A review of the theoretical and research literature. *Journal of the American Academy of Psychoanalysis and Dynamic Psychiatry, 32,* 91-115.

Sinedart, D. & Mortelmans, D. (2009). The feminine side to Santa Claus. Women's work of kinship in contemporary gift-giving relations. *The Social Science Journal, 46,* 124–142

Sotirin, P. & Ellingson, L. L. (2007). Rearticulating the aunt: Feminist alternatives of family, care, and kinship in popular performances of aunting. *Cultural Studies <=> Critical Methodologies,7*(4), 442-459.

Spitzberg, B. H. & Cupach, W. R. (2007). Disentangling the dark side of interpersonal communication. In B.H. Spitzberg & W. R. Cupach (Eds.) *The Dark Side of Interpersonal Communication.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Stamp, G. H. (1994). The appropriation of the parental role through communication during the transition to parenthood. *Communication Monographs, 61,* 89–112.

Thoits, P. A., & Virshup, L. K. (1997). Me's and we's: Forms and functions of social identities. In R. D. Ashmore & L. Jussim (Eds.) *Self and identity: Fundamental issues* (pp. 106-133). New York: Oxford University Press.

Tracy, S. J. (2012). *Qualitative research methods: Collecting evidence, crafting analysis, communicating impact.* West Sussex, UK: Wiley-Blackwell.

Turner, L. H. & West, R. (2015). The challenge of defining "family." In L. H. Turner and R. West (Eds.) *The Sage handbook of family communication* (pp. 10-25). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Turner, R. H. (2001). Role theory. In J. H. Turner (Eds.) *Handbook of sociological theory*. New York: Springer.

Umberson, D. (1992). Relationships between adult children and their parents: Psychological consequences for both generations. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 54,* 664–674.

Umberson, D. & Slaten, E. (2000). Gender and intergenerational relationships. In D. H. Demo, K. R. Allen, & M. A. Fine (Eds.) *Handbook of family diversity* (pp. 105-127). New York: Oxford University Press.

U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Administration for Community Living (2010). *U.S. Population Totals by Age Group and Sex in the 2010 and 2000 Censuses*. Administration on Aging report. Retrieved 6 April 2016 from

http://www.aoa.acl.gov/aging_statistics/Census_Population/census2010/Index.aspx

Van Mens-Verhulst, J., Schreurs, K., and Woertman, L. (eds.) (1993). *On Daughtering and Mothering: Female Subjectivity Reanalyzed.* London: Routledge.

Van Mens-Verhulst, J. (1995). Reinventing the mother-daughter relationship. *American Journal of Psychotherapy, 49*(4), 526-538.

Vannini, P. & Williams, J. P. (2009). *Authenticity in Self, Culture and Society.* Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.

Walters, M., Carter, B., Papp, P., & Silverstein, O. (1988). *The invisible web.* New York: Guilford Press.

Walters, S. D. (1992)**.** *Lives together***,** *worlds apart: Mothers and daughters in popular culture.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Weick, K. E. (1979). *The Social Psychology of Organizing (2nd ed.).* New York: McGraw Hill.

Wenger-Trayner, E. & Wenger-Trayner, B. (2015). *Communities of practice: A brief introduction.* Retrieved from: http://wenger-trayner.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/07-Brief-introduction-to-communities-of-practice.pdf

Wenger, E. (1998) Communities of Practice. Learning as a social system, *Systems Thinker,* Retrieved March 1, 2016 from http://www.co-i-l.com/coil/knowledge-garden/cop/lss.shtml.

Wenger-Trayner.com (2011). *What is a Community of Practice?* Retrieved from: http://wenger-trayner.com/resources/what-is-a-community-of-practice

Wolcott, H. F. (2008). *Ethnography: A way of seeing*. New York: AltaMira Press.